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THE REVOLUTION IN THE GERMAN UNIVERSITY

BY MICHAEL TIERNEY
Professor of Greek, University College, Dublin

THE University of Göttingen in Hanover, which shares with the Prussian Halle the honour of having been the earliest home of modern German methods in science and education, celebrated in June this year the second centenary of its foundation in 1737. It is unlikely that much reference was made at this celebration to the second most important event in the history of Göttingen, although that event took place exactly one hundred years ago. In the year 1837 a group of professors, led by the historian Dahlmann and including the famous brothers Jakob and Wilhelm Grimm, lost their chairs as the result of their protest against the arbitrary suspension of the Hanoverian constitution. They were received with honour and given other chairs in the University of Berlin, then rejoicing under the first vague and short-lived benevolence of Frederick William IV. Their names have been since renowned in Germany history as " the seven of Göttingen." The answer of Dahlmann, when requested to withdraw their protest under threat of punishment, could hardly be expected to arouse much official enthusiasm if referred to at a German university celebration to-day : " Shall we in future teach it as the basal law of the land that what pleases the supreme power is the law ? I wish to leave the country as an honest man and not to sell to my students falsehood and deception as the truth . . . I shall remain faithful to my duty ; but I cannot recognise a duty of slavery."

Dahlmann's protest was in part inspired by the fact that one provision in the abrogated constitution of 1833 had guaranteed the freedom of university teaching. His words have often been quoted as expressing the true spirit of the German university even under Hohenzollern rule. How inappropriate these words would have been if recalled during this year's celebrations at Göttingen may be gathered from the

fact that under the present régime fifty-one teachers of various ranks have been dismissed from their posts in that institution. The contrast between Adolf Hitler and Ernst August of Hanover, son of George III and uncle of Queen Victoria, is the measure of the enormous change brought about by National Socialism in the universities as well as in the general life of Germany. A recent book by an American sociologist[1] enables us to some extent to understand the nature of this change, which began at once after Hitler's assumption of power in January 1933. In no field was the National Socialist revolution more sweeping than in that of education. Not merely has the whole secondary school system been drastically reformed and simplified, but the traditional relation between school and university has been entirely altered, and the character of the university itself—its purpose, methods, and organisation—so remodelled as to make it into something altogether new.

The National Socialist government has indeed swept away the doubts, hesitations, confusions, and uncertainties that were so characteristic of German higher education during the "Weimar" period. But in doing so it has practically made an end of everything that German higher education connoted and that German scholars were proudest of during the nineteenth century. Such an educational revolution must necessarily bring with it a far-reaching series of changes in the civilised life of Europe; for the German university was by no means an institution of merely national importance. It was perhaps the highest positive product of the civilisation that derives from the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, and its influence over the thought of the outside world was only equalled by its astonishing achievements in the practical sciences and their application. For generations German philosophy reigned supreme over the schools of France, Italy, England and the United States. History, in the modern sense of the term, was almost entirely a German creation. Philology—defined by German scholars as *cognitio totius antiquitatis historica et philosophica*, and pursued with tireless energy as an exact science—

[1] *The German Universities and National Socialism.* By Edward Yarnall Hartshorne, Jr. London: Allen & Unwin. 1937. 6s. net.

made the scholars of the world into pupils of Germany; and its offshoots, such as the comparative study of languages and the Higher Criticism of the Bible, with many subsidiary disciplines, had all their origins in German universities. In spite of national jealousies and frequent criticisms sometimes inspired by better motives, these great seats of research and teaching continued up to the Great War and even afterwards to be almost like suns round which all centres of thought everywhere revolved, caught by their irresistible attraction. They have lost this commanding position, and no one as yet can tell what, if anything, will take their place.

The creation of the German university, in the classical sense, began during the eighteenth century, when the State proceeded to take over from the Church responsibility for education. The final stage in the process, as far as external organisation was concerned, was reached in 1809 with the founding of Berlin University, whose first Rector, Wilhelm von Humboldt, was also the first to enunciate fully the ideals which were to dominate the whole system. All higher education was to look towards the university as its end, an institution founded and maintained by the State, yet enjoying as its most precious privilege the widest freedom of research and teaching. *Lehrfreiheit* and *Lernfreiheit*, freedom both for the professor and the student, were the characteristic notes of the whole system. The State paid the greater proportion of the professorial salaries, but in the government of the university only interfered as far as was absolutely necessary. The Minister for Education merely approved of the Rector appointed for one year from among their own number by the full professors (*Ordinarii*). The Faculties had the right of conferring the *venia legendi*, or power to teach, on the successful Doctor, but in the appointment of full professors the Minister could select one of three names submitted to him. Although sometimes, as under the vigorous Minister Althoff during the early years of William II, there was a tendency to exercise a political ban on certain appointments, the system on the whole was thoroughly liberal, and the position of the university with regard to the State has been happily described as one of "external association."

It was not, however, only the organisation of the university that gave it the immense prestige and success it enjoyed. This came still more from the spirit that inspired it. The combination of free research and free teaching was founded upon an idea characteristic of the Enlightenment. As Werner Richter, Director for the Prussian Universities in the *Kultusministerium* from 1925-32, expressed it, these institutions were "rooted in liberalism." Their motive-power was provided by the belief in the absolute, transcendent value of the human reason, its capacity not merely to reach exact truth but to regulate conduct. This idea has been called, in an illuminating phrase, "the secularist form of the Christian idea of God." From it was derived the further conception of the unity and therefore equal worth of all forms of knowledge. The disappearance of the medieval distinction between faith and reason gave at once their strength and their weakness to the universities of Germany in the nineteenth century. Their work extended the bounds of knowledge to an unprecedented degree, but the luxuriant growth of science did not always or inevitably bring wisdom with it. Never was there a clearer demonstration of the Heraclitean maxim that "much learning does not teach sense" than in some of the typical products of this great intellectual movement. The liberals of the Enlightenment had hoped for a new Faustian race to be created by freedom of knowledge. Instead, there was a formidable multiplication of the "famulus-type," a widening of the gap between thought and action, knowledge and judgment, which the late Graham Wallas noted as a recurrent human malady.

The golden age of the German university was of course the period when the expansion of knowledge was merely beginning, when learning and creative literature could still co-exist as in Goethe, the most complete "modern man." Soon a time came when the accumulation of facts and theories emphasised the difference between artist and *Gelehrte*, and Grillparzer could complain that the German no longer wrote something, but *about* something. In the speculative sciences the idea of *Wissenschaft* as an end in itself produced an ever-growing mass of theories, often brilliant and sound but more often fantastic

and unprofitable. Generations were spent in hair-splitting analysis which in the end turned out to be pointless, like the vast negligible literature on the Homeric Question. Although Bismarck's and Moltke's victory over France in 1870-1, and the imposing structure of the new Empire, seemed a complete vindication of the German intelligence and its training, and although the other great European nations came from that time more and more under German intellectual influence, yet it was widely felt that this pre-eminence was a misfortune, and even in triumphant Germany itself far-seeing men began to doubt the value of so one-sided a system of education. It was more and more felt also that materialism, then at the height of its glory in the practical sciences, was tending to invade fields of thought which the identification of reason and spirit had left open to it, thus destroying the very values the universities existed to maintain. Meanwhile the number of students kept on growing out of all proportion either to the increase in population or to the numbers of the teaching staffs. As early as 1872 Nietzsche published a pessimistic forecast of the results to which the spread of popular education seemed to be leading. Whereas in 1840 there was one Ordinary Professor for every eighteen students, by 1910 there was only one for every forty-three.

If the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1 was the triumph of the German intellect, the Great War of 1914-18 was the nemesis that followed on its excessive pride. Lack of skilled and prudent political leadership was the main cause of Germany's downfall. Bethmann-Hollweg, whose maladroit handling of the pre-war crisis did so much to range world-opinion behind the Allies and fatally to isolate his country, was a typical intellectual. One of the most significant things in Hitler's *Mein Kampf* is a sarcastic comparison between his "powerless babblings" and the psychological mastery of a Lloyd George. The advancement of learning, far from having produced a new race, had merely given a shallow covering of intellectualism to all kinds of mediocrity, with the result that the country had to rely entirely on technicians, soldiers and sailors, who were unable to deal with the long-practised experts

in politics opposed to them. After the war came chaos, in which the middle-classes, the mainstay of the university, foundered completely. Already in 1920 Brüning said in a lecture to a student conference at Göttingen: "It is in any case evident that in a country where the capital basis melts away, no large academic class of outstanding quality can in the long run maintain itself." That was only at the beginning of the crisis. By the time of its conclusion, about 1925, the academic class, upon which the whole intellectual structure depended, had been largely destroyed. Yet the number of students went on increasing faster than ever, nearly doubling for the whole Reich from 80,000 in 1913 to 138,000 in 1931. The total population had doubled, but the number of students had increased tenfold.

In spite of the great and sometimes ludicrous demand for academic qualifications in almost every walk of life, the effect of this combination of financial collapse and overwhelming growth in numbers was an alarming development of what came to be known as intellectual unemployment—and the creation of something still more alarming, an intellectual proletariat. This development, as Mr. Hartshorne emphasises, was by no means confined to Germany, but it did reach far more serious proportions there than anywhere else; and until Hitler's arrival only half-hearted efforts were made to deal with it. Like the post-Napoleonic period, the years between 1920 and 1930 were marked by a continual rise of "Youth Movements," in some ways harmless enough, but on the whole inclining towards violence and revolution. The Nazi Party has succeeded for the most part in absorbing these into its own ranks, but there are still signs of turbulence. Nothing was more strange in post-war Germany than the failure of her ruling statesmen to realise the dangers inherent in such movements.

The National-Socialist revolution brought to bear upon university problems, as on all national questions, a complete philosophy of its own. Quite as much as Bolshevism, parliamentary democracy and Jewish influence, the Führer had denounced the "effete intellectualism"—the phrase was used by Rust, Minister for Education, in a speech before the Prussian

Council of State in 1935—to which in very large measure he attributed the downfall of the Second Reich. His philosophy demanded far more than mere political or even social reforms—it envisaged a recreation of German manhood and womanhood on the basis of racial purity and in the belief that the virtues to be imparted by education—courage, tenacity and loyalty—spring not from the cultivation of the intellect, but from the deep sources of undefiled Aryan blood and German soil. The elements of this philosophy were of course neither original nor in any scientific sense convincing; they were not even of Germanic origin, for the first preacher of the Aryan myth was a Frenchman, Count Gobineau (1816-1882), and it was introduced to Germany by an Englishman, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, son-in-law of Richard Wagner (1855-1927). But when adopted with fierce conviction by the leader of a powerful revolutionary movement, this idea became as important for history as the equally mythical but philosophically more imposing materialist dialectic of Marx. In the long run both doctrines have a very similar import, for they eventuate in a kind of deification of matter and in practice are necessarily and rigidly anti-spiritual as well as anti-intellectual.

The place of the old rationalist faith in the sovereign power and right of intellect as the governing principle in education had therefore to be taken over, as soon as National Socialism gained the upper hand in the State, by a new and ultimately materialist faith in the sovereign power and right of race. Along with the supremacy of intellect freedom had to be jettisoned, both because they naturally went together and because the idea of free thought was entirely antipathetic to the idea of the sacredness of race. As the place of intelligence was taken by the blood, so the place of freedom must be taken by a combination of rigid mental and physical discipline with the most skilful, all-pervasive and exclusive propaganda. Goebbels' new Ministry of Propaganda was instituted to stand to the Ministry of Education much as Theology stood to Philosophy in the medieval scheme of things. Schools and universities were to train young citizens both mentally and physically so as to make them fit future subjects for the empire of pro-

paganda—for this is the real meaning of the formula *politischer Mensch*. All thought, feeling, and action were to be concentrated on the well-being of the State, the highest expression of the race and the blood. "Private life," the Leader of the German Labour Front has recently said, "no longer exists in Germany." The wishes of the Führer are more absolute law and govern the German body and mind more drastically by far than ever could the dictates of the All-Highest in the days of the old maligned autocracy. To a greater degree even than the rationalist mysticism of the Enlightenment, this new racial mysticism is fatal to religion and the freedom of the human conscience. Rationalism eventually led to anarchy; racism is bound, with much greater speed and certainty, to eventuate in slavery.

The delicate equilibrium of the old relation between the free university and the autocratic State presented the Nazi government with an easy method of solving the educational problem. It could use the State's power to abolish freedom, and it lost no time in doing so. Mr. Hartshorne gives us the details of the rapid process by which the university system inspired by Humboldt was radically destroyed. In accordance with the Leadership principle, autonomy was effectively abolished and administration centralised. The Rector became the Führer of the University, and though the system of ministerial appointment on the nomination of the Faculty was in theory maintained, in practice it was so modified as to take away entirely its electoral character. The right of the Faculty to confer the *Habilitation*, which empowered the graduate to teach, was made subject to ministerial approval. Promotions and appointments to full professorial chairs were similarly placed under political control, and finally *Habilitation* was converted into a mere preliminary to a further stage called *Dozentur*, which necessitates a period of service in a "Community Camp," a further period in a Teachers' Academy, and rigorous proofs of personal suitability on physical, moral, and political grounds. As part of the economic reform of the State, the number of student-entrants to universities and similar institutions was drastically reduced, at first by the fixing of maximal figures,

and later by an "organic" system of selection which began to operate at the beginning of the secondary-school period. As part of the military and eugenic reform the old compulsory military service was restored and the idea of racial and political selection was made the dominant aim of education, with the view of producing a new class of leaders to replace the old aristocracy and middle class.

Above all, it was this racial principle that marked the revolutionary character of the whole procedure. Biology, race-study, genetics, racial hygiene, genealogy, and the study of population policy were introduced into the curriculum of the two final years in all schools; and the law so commanding (13 September 1933) explicitly stated that this must be done even at the cost of mathematics and foreign languages. The old idea of the university as the guiding institution in all the intellectual life of the nation was set aside, and this supreme function was taken over by "Party and State" to be principally exercised through the schools. The latter now took first place in education, the universities second—a total revolution in their relations (eine völlige Umschwung der Lage), as one commentator rather sorrowfully expresses it. The old multiplicity of school-types was abolished, leaving only the *Oberschule* and a sadly reduced number of *Gymnasien* to carry on in a limited way the classical tradition which has meant so much to Germany and to Europe. A curious feature of the situation is that in the *Oberschule*, obviously intended to be the predominant type of secondary school, the sole foreign languages taught are to be English and Latin. University curricula are also to be stringently controlled. Study-plans have already been provided by the Ministry, for Law, Economics, Agriculture, and the theory and practice of Journalism; and it is significant of further developments that in the second of these it is laid down that "lectures on Race and Tribe, Anthropology and Pre-history, and the political development of the German people, especially in the last hundred years, belong to the beginnings of every study in the humanities."

How the other speculative branches of higher study are likely to fare is evident enough from a variety of indications.

Philosophy is no longer to be a compulsory subject for the Doctorate in Philosophy. A whole host of new sciences like Wehrwissenschaft (Science of Defence) and Raumforschung (Territory-research), which have significance only in connexion with political policy, have been put on a level with traditional subjects of study—side by side with the inevitable applications of race-theory to almost every other subject, which have produced a truly astonishing flood of extravagant books and articles. The weakness of the old German cult of the intellect is more clearly shown in the readiness with which scholars have lent themselves to this propaganda than in any other manifestation. It goes without saying that subjects like Political Economy and History are being thoroughly "politicised," although historians of repute have bravely protested against the conversion of the latter—one of the proudest of German sciences, with its roll of honoured names like Ranke, Mommsen and Meyer—into a vehicle for the new national and racial mythology. Even in the classics there is evident a tendency to set aside the study of authors like Cicero, whose name is for ever linked with the Humanist Renaissance, and to concentrate rather on Caesar, prototype of the Führer, Sallust, historian of the chaos which preceded the Führer's appearance, and Livy, systematiser of a national mythology for the imperial Roman race.

As compared with the revolution effected in the whole spirit of the university, the wholesale displacements of staffs and reduction in the number of students are of minor importance. Foreign attention has been rather drawn to the former by reason of the emigration of savants of proved or suspected Jewish origin, which has been on a scale only paralleled by the similar emigration from Bolshevik Russia. Mr. Hartshorne calculates that about one-fifth of the teaching staff in the universities has been removed for racial or political reasons. Of these about 852 remain in Germany, while 821 have emigrated. The greatest proportion of the latter have gone to the United States or Great Britain, but Istanbul alone has given shelter to forty-eight, while to my own knowledge a new Institute of Oriental Languages and History in Brussels

has been almost entirely staffed by German exiles. Some of the greatest German scholars, and these by no means all Jews or even of Jewish origin, have been lost to German science. The numbers of students in all years has been reduced by something like thirty per cent., while the reduction in entrants between 1931 and 1935 amounted to nearly sixty per cent. Mr. Hartshorne has a lively chapter in which he describes the sort of regimentation to which university teachers are now subject. Faculty self-government being practically abolished, the staff (Dozentenschaft) are treated as a unit with their own *Leiter*, who is appointed by the Minister after consultation with the Rector and the *Gauführer* (local Leader) of the National-Sozialistische Dozentenbund, a strictly political organisation. Professors are regularly "requested," as part of this body's activities, to join in "setting-up exercises" under athletic leadership at such hours as 7 to 9 a.m.—not, it should be said, so ghastly an hour for Germany, where lectures regularly begin at eight, as it would be in Dublin; for has not a French observer remarked that "l'Irlande n'est pas matinale"?

In addition to compulsory resignations and downright dismissals, there have also taken place an unknown number of transfers (*Versetzungen*) from one university to another, and Mr. Hartshorne explains on a poignant note how the path towards forced retirement might often lead through a zigzag series of such displacements. Inviolability of office, once a guaranteed professorial prerogative, has been entirely disregarded. Very great importance is of course attached to all sorts of political demonstrations, in which both staffs and students are expected to take part; while the brown shirt and khaki breeches of the Nazi official are more and more displacing the traditional academic costume of medieval origin for use in such public displays. A curious reversal has taken place in the relations between university authorities and student organisations. The old *Burschenschaften*, so characteristic a feature of student life during the nineteenth century, tended to be in general liberal and anti-governmental in their politics, and were at the centre of the movement for democratic

reform between 1815 and 1848. After the Great War, when the government had become democratic, these organisations swung round in the direction of extreme nationalism. Thus they played a not inconsiderable part in the early stages of the Nazi agitation, and towards its triumphant ending made themselves conspicuous by their attacks on professors tainted with liberal or socialist ideas. The new government found itself faced with the task of restoring discipline in the class-room after several professors had been thus driven into retirement. The students were organised into a federation of *Studentenschaften*, with their leaders responsible to the Minister for Education, and into a more select body, the *National-Sozialistische Studentenbund*, whose leader is responsible to the Minister for Party Affairs.

To these bodies were assigned an official status and a series of formulated tasks. The old organisations were severely discouraged, with the result that one of the largest of them, the *Deutsche Burschenschaft*, dating from 1815, disbanded itself solemnly on October 18th, 1935, the anniversary of the famous Festival on the Wartburg near Eisenach, the dedicatory Student Congress of 1817. "The festive caps, jackets, and banners were laid down, and the sober brown shirt symbolically donned." For the future the would-be student will have to pass a very strict series of tests, intellectual, physical, moral, political, and of course racial. His political reliability must be vouched for by his local *Gauleiter* (Leader of the Party section) and evidence of service in the Nazi organisation will be essential. Intensive propaganda is being devoted to the instillation of orthodox ideas into undergraduates. On one of the notice-boards of Berlin University in 1935 they were exhorted to make themselves "flink wie ein Windhund. zäh wie Leder, hart wie Kruppstahl"—as fleet as a whippet, as tough as leather, as hard as Krupp steel. The new discipline, with its emphasis on physical and moral qualifications, has not yet, however, produced the desired results. There is evidence on the one hand of excessive zeal leading to disorder in the class-room, on the other of recalcitrance in the matter of keeping up old student-associations; and there has been at least one

outspoken protest from an educational specialist whose loyalty to the régime is unquestioned. Good heads, argues this specialist in an article published during 1936, are far too few, and must be cherished even if attached to weak bodies; and he concludes with the heartfelt asseveration: "We have fighters enough." The dangers of excess in these matters have not passed unnoticed by the government itself, which during the Winter Semester, 1935-6, held a great national vocational competition (*Reichsleistungskampf*) in order to stimulate the interest of university students in academic work. It is worthy of remark in passing that amid the general decline in student numbers, only Catholic Theology and Pharmacy have shown an increase since 1931.

There can be no doubt that all this activity constitutes a fundamental and probably a permanent change in the whole spirit and aim of the German university. That some change was called for is fairly certain, but foreign observers who have known or benefited from German educational institutions in the past cannot but view what has happened with grave misgivings. It is hardly any longer a mere prophecy to say that the whole imposing structure of German scholarship, with all its great achievements, is irretrievably impaired. The loss will be most grievously felt in the speculative branches of learning—philosophy, history, linguistics, and classical studies. In the practical sciences the needs of industry and defence will necessitate the preservation, at least to a great extent, of the old freedom of research and teaching. The effect, however, will merely be to render German thought more one-sided than ever. It almost seems as if the whole effort amounted to an attempt to shake off what was oldest and most spiritual in European secular culture, while retaining the technical advantages that spring, like Humanism, from the Renaissance. The new totalitarian man may well transcend the disturbing disharmony between the contemplative and the practical by entirely discarding the former and thus de-civilising himself. Of such a process the result can only be a fearful combination of material skill and mental slavery or vacuity—the emergence of the "chauffeur-type" prophesied by Keyserling, who will

be just as much the helpless victim of mass-propaganda in Germany as in Russia.

Others besides the Nazis themselves have seen the resemblance between their ideas and those set forth in Plato's *Republic*. There is the same tendency towards discipline at all costs; the same definition of the highest civic quality as the capacity to fulfil one's allotted function; the same emphasis on careful mental, moral, and physical selection and training; the same concentration of all power in the hands of a chosen élite. There is even in Plato a phrase or two about racial purity, and the whole German race-theory might be compared to Plato's "noble lie," by means of which his young citizens were to be taught respect for State institutions. Enthusiasts for the new régime have exulted in finding such confirmation for the Führer's doctrines in the pages of the great philosopher. But it may be suspected that there is missing in this new polity exactly that part of Plato which was most specifically Platonic. Scholars have always realised that he drew a great part of his projected organisation from the institutions of Spartan militarism, which were traditionally admired by the aristocratic families of Athens. Borrowing from Sparta the external framework, he filled it with his own spirit and made it the means by which the sovereignty of the intellect, disciplined after arduous training, could be assured over men. There is no equivalent in Hitler's system for the dialectic of Plato, and the "noble lie," which in the *Republic* is merely an educational device for children, has been pushed into the forefront of the whole Nazi scheme. Myth and truth are intermingled and made the subject of scientific investigation after a fashion that would have astounded not merely Plato but any intelligent Athenian. There was need for a reaction from the rationalism of the nineteenth century, but the pendulum has been swung back too violently and too far.

MICHAEL TIERNEY

DERATING AS A MEANS OF AGRICULTURAL RELIEF

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IT is a commonplace of the parliamentary system that parties when in office refrain from pursuing policies championed by them in opposition. On the same principle, parties in opposition sometimes discover merits in proposals which had remained unsuspected in the days of their power. Examples may easily be found in the political history of England or of this country, and at present we may find an excellent instance in the case of the revived proposals for derating of agricultural land. Eight years ago a campaign for derating was carried on in the columns of the Fianna Fáil weekly *The Nation*. In debates upon these proposals the Cosgrave Government showed itself sceptical of their merit, but finally consented to appoint a Commission of inquiry into the effect of local rates upon production ; the economic consequences of partial or complete relief from them ; and the suitability of the existing system of Exchequer grants to local bodies. This body was appointed on November 6, 1929.

The Commission, in the manner of all Commissions set up to examine subjects of popular agitation, took its time and did not submit its Report until April 19, 1931. Its decision, for reasons which will be examined later, was adverse to the proposals made and marked the end of the derating campaign. By the end of the following summer the pound had been driven off gold and a new British Government was experimenting with tariffs. Soon the Irish Government fell, and under the new regime the Irish farmers had questions more fundamental than derating to consider. Since then derating has fallen out of notice, being overshadowed by the general position of the Irish farmer under those changes which had so completely transformed the situation existing in 1931.

Now it reappears on the programme of Fine Gael, but with one difference which, it will be suggested, is of some importance. The measure of derating urged before the 1931 Commission was partial and was to be a measure standing by itself, unrelated to any general scheme. Even the Minority Report then published stated that " total derating would moreover create administrative problems almost incapable of solution in the present stage of evolution of local government . . . . Finally, the cost (estimated at £2,230,000) is so great as to make it extremely probable that either the assumption of the burden by the non-agricultural community would result in grave economic injury to the State or that a large share of the burden would necessarily fall back on the agricultural community—alternative consequences which we are equally anxious to avoid. We, therefore, recommend a measure of de-rating the cost of which would be approximately one-half of the estimated cost of total de-rating."[1]

The new proposals go further. An extract from that part of Fine Gael programme dealing with de-rating reads as follows :—

" To restore prosperity to Irish farmers by—

(*a*) the restoration of free entry to the British market for our exports so as to retain our people on the land and make the largest possible amount of money available at home for the purchase of industrial products.

(*b*) the derating of agricultural land, including land attached to labourer's cottages, so as to place the Irish farmer on a level with his English competitor in the British market.

(*c*) the provision of a Recovery Loan at not more than 3 p.c. interest to enable farmers to recover from the losses inflicted upon them by the present Government policy."

There is thus an important difference between the proposals of 1929 and those of 1937. It may be that both favour a partial measure of derating, for the proposals just quoted may be

[1] *Reports of the Commission of Inquiry into Derating*, p. 83.

interpreted either as contemplating complete derating or only so much as would place the Irish farmer on the basis of equality with his competitors. But the present proposals are only part of a general scheme to restore Irish agriculture to its old prosperity, while those of 1929 were concerned with derating alone.

The situation of Irish agriculture has, of course, changed completely and, on any measurement, for the worse since the Report of the Derating Commission was published. It would be as well therefore to examine the arguments advanced to justify derating then and to see how much the course of events has increased their weight and what other favourable arguments have arisen.

The first point that may be taken is the assertion that the remission of rates, even if partial, would have a favourable effect upon agricultural production. The Minority Report states: "We are satisfied that the remission of rates on agricultural land and farm buildings will have a very beneficial effect in securing an increase of production and employment in agriculture. At present the obligation to pay rates imposes a severe strain on the cash resources of the small-scale farmer, and farm produce and stock are disposed of irrespective of their condition and of the state of the market. In large farms the tendency, in times of financial stringency and depression, is to desist from what we may term secondary agricultural activity, such as draining, fencing, the reconstruction of old farm buildings and the erection of new buildings. The holding over of works of this nature in recent years, though it may not as yet have had any effect in diminishing production, has resulted in considerable unemployment in rural areas. These two adverse effects of financial stringency would be removed, or at any rate mitigated, by the remission of rates. Further, we believe that the retention in the industry of the large sum released by the remission of the rate charge would have a directly beneficial effect in stimulating production by enabling farmers to increase the stock on their lands, to purchase better quality seeds and stock, to make a greater use of fertilisers, and generally to adopt more modern methods of production."[1]

[1] Ib., pp. 81-2.

Thus the claim to remission is justified upon the grounds of the effects upon the increase and improvement of agriculture. A second argument was that such remission would benefit the farmer at the other end of the productive process, that is to say in marketing. It was argued that remission was necessary in order to place the Irish farmer upon an equality with his English competitor. In the United Kingdom derating of agricultural land had been carried through partially in 1923 and 1925 and wholly in 1929. The English (or Six County) farmer thus added to the competitive advantage which he enjoyed through contiguity to the market the further advantage of freedom from rates and a consequent lowering of his cost of production. This lowering of the farmer's cost of production was a matter which might have been expected to carry especial weight with the Irish Government. Its whole policy for agriculture, and therefore necessarily for industry, was based upon the necessity of enabling the Irish farmer to keep his costs of production at as low a level as possible. The Irish farmer competed in a world market at which prices were fixed by world movements and could not be influenced to any appreciable or lasting extent by variations in the amounts which he supplied. Since he could not control price, the only method in which his margin of profit could be increased by government action was by reducing his expenses. To this end therefore new services were provided for agricultural production, the prices of foodstuffs were kept as low as possible, the prices of his essential needs were reduced, and the cost of living in the State at large was kept as low as possible.[1] The argument advanced before the Derating Commission was that since rates were part of the cost of production, the effect of British derating was to place the Irish farmer at a competitive disadvantage, and that the Government, by the logic of its own policy, was bound to remove this disadvantage by a similar remission.

There remain two other arguments which raise other questions. The first drew attention to one of the less pleasing features of the extension of social and rural services. It is described by the signatories of the Minority Report in the following

[1] *Cf.* Professor George O'Brien's article on Patrick Hogan, *Studies*, Sept., 1936.

terms [1] :—" There has been for many years a tendency, on the part of the Central Government, to compel or induce local authorities to create new services to cater for nation-wide requirements or to improve the standard of some existing service in which the State has developed an interest. Whether such services should be administered locally or centrally—whether indeed they are to be spoken of as 'local' or 'national' services—does not seem to us to be a material point. What will not be denied is that while the standards are set by the State acting as a unit, the cost has to be assumed by numerous local units regardless of their capacity to bear the additional taxation."

The objection is not merely that the services thus imposed, however unjustifiably, upon the local authorities are too expensive for their budgets. It should be remembered that in many cases these services are neither much desired nor much used by the farmer—for instance, the upkeep of roads. One may grant that part of this cost is defrayed by grants from the Exchequer. But on what grounds can it be argued that the farmer should contribute to the maintenance of roads in such a condition that fast motor traffic may be facilitated ? Other examples will be readily called to mind. To quote again from the Minority Report :[2] " When we say that the farmer resents having to pay year in and year out a tax at a very high effective rate and regardless of his productive capacity, his profits or losses, or his personal position, for services for which he has not asked and which he feels will never benefit him, then we believe that we are coming nearer to the realities of the situation."

Since the supply of these services comes chiefly from the local bodies, the main cost of this improvement has been borne by the farmer, and thus an increase in public services which should be borne principally by the Exchequer has become a charge on rates. Originally rates were levied principally as poor rates ; it is only in the last twenty years that they have become an instrument of a social revolution. They now provide for a multitude of aims—housing, roads, lighting, asylums,

[1] Report of De-rating Commission, p. 79.

[2] Report, page 80.

and so on. The result has been that in every county rates have steadily risen, and where three decades ago they may have been about 2s. 6d. in the £, they stand at 17s. or 18s. to-day. A reduction appears unlikely: a further increase, almost inevitable.

Further, as was urged in the Minority Report, the increase of rates has continued independently of the financial position of the farmer. Five years ago one heard much of the blessings which would rain on every farm when once the annuities were abolished. But the annuities were at least a fixed sum which was known and against which provision could be made in advance. The rates, on the other hand, are variable—not (as they might be if matters were better ordered) in sympathy with the position of agriculture but in accordance with schemes from which the farmer may rarely draw any direct advantage.

The method of valuation presents displeasing features. A new outhouse, or drained fields, or indeed any improvement which would increase productivity leads to an increase of valuation. For fifty years the landlords were denounced for raising the rent when the farm was improved. To-day the same policy is pursued.

It was also argued before the Commission that the psychological effect of remission would be as profound as that of the legislation which introduced land purchase. It would rescue the farmers from a position in which they carried on production either at a loss or at an inadequate profit and give them greater courage and capacity to face a future in which the framers of the Minority Report could find no hopeful signs—" bad as the present position is, there are grounds for believing that it will grow worse in the next few years if no action is taken to remedy it . . . "[1]

Seldom indeed can the gloomier prophecies of a Minority Report have been more abundantly fulfilled. However small may have been the farmer's margin of profit in 1931 when the Report was published, it had disappeared completely before twelve months were past. The monthly agricultural price index number (1911-13 being 100) dropped from 113·3 in

[1] Report, page 79.

April 1931 to 78·1 in April 1935. The export price index number (the year 1930 being 100) fell from 94 in April 1931 to 60 in April 1935. The actual figures make even more striking reading. Exports of live animals had been worth £18·3 millions in 1931 and only £7·3 millions in 1935: exports of food had been worth £9·6 millions in 1931 and £6·3 in 1935. The total dropped from £27·9 millions in 1931 to £13·6 millions in 1935. The fall in the value per head of exports outdistanced even the fall in population, the figure having been £12 3s. 0d. in 1931 and £6 12s. 0d. in 1935. The income from agriculture, which had been estimated at £61·1 millions in 1929 and £48·1 millions in 1931, fell to £31·7 millions in 1934. The Government might well claim that never was a like period of national progress and construction witnessed in this, or any other, country or age.

The position of the farmer may be made even clearer by the following comparison of prices in 1914, 1929 and 1935 :—

	White Oats per cwt.	Barley per cwt.	Wool per lb.	Eggs per 120	Butter per cwt.	Pork per cwt.	Fat Cattle per cwt.	Fat Lambs per cwt.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1914 ...	7 9	7 4	1 0⅝	9 11	114 9	60 0	3 3 6	3 11 9
1929 ...	7 9	7 11	1 2¼	13 3	166 1	85 6	3 17 6	5 6 3
1935 ...	6 7	7 1	0 7⅝	8 5	107 7	49 9	1 17 3	3 2 6

Such figures need no comment.

At the same time as the prices obtained by the farmer fell, the prices which he had to pay went soaring. The increase of taxation after 1932 fell with especial violence upon the farmer, and above all on the small farmer. Tea, tobacco, sugar, flour, all increased in sympathy with the extra taxation imposed upon them. There was hardly any article which came into his house which was not dearer or of inferior quality as a result of the tariff policy. As one deputy remarked in the debate upon the second stage of the Agricultural Wages Bill,[1] " The farmer has to pay more for his spades. He has to

[1] Deputy O'Leary, *Parliamentary Debates*, November 11, 1936, col. 2087.

pay more for his shovels. He has to pay more for his harness. He has to pay more for his ploughs. He has to pay more for every kind of machinery. In fact he has to pay more for every article that goes into his house." His position may be summarized thus : he obtained 13s. in 1936 for the produce which would have commanded £1 in 1931, and he paid £1 in 1936 for what would have cost 16s. in 1931.

The consequences would give material for a number of articles. Here reference will be made to only two instances which have been the subject of comment in the present month. The minimum wage for agricultural labourers has been fixed by the Agricultural Wages Board at 24s. a week. The value of that wage may be judged from the following extract from a press interview with Mr. Luke Duffy [1] : " Where the employer provided the farm worker with three meals per day for six days a week, 11s. 6d. would be deducted from his wages of 24s., and if the worker lived in a cottage owned by the farmer, 2s. would be deducted for rent. In other words, 13s. 6d. per week would be deducted in respect of food for six days and the rent of a cottage, leaving 10s. 6d. with which the worker was expected to purchase food, fuel and clothing for his wife and family for the seven days and his own food on a Sunday. In the case of a farm-worker with a wife and four children, 108 meals would have to be provided in the week ; and, allowing one penny per meal, this would work out at 9s. per week, leaving 1s. 6d. with which to buy fuel, light, clothing, household utensils, and provide medicine and medical attendance for the family." That extract may be profitably compared with the comment of Mr. McGilligan on the second stage of the Agricultural Wages Bill [2] : " When we see the wages which are set out, we will see what the Minister (for Agriculture) in his heart—acting through his nominees—thinks of the conditions in various parts of the country and the wages that can be paid."

The local bodies that depend for their solvency upon the rates paid by the farmer are in no better case. Their indebted-

[1] *Irish Independent*, August 11, 1937. [2] *Parliamentary Debates*, November 11, 1936, cols. 290-1.

ness in respect of stock and loans at the end of the financial year 1928-29 was £16,620,265. At the end of the financial year 1935-36 it was £24,597,382.[1]

The policy pursued since 1932 by the Government of Saorstát Eireann has not been without its incidental successes —though the victories of Peace appear to be more costly than those of War. It is, however, unsound in so far as it has tended to benefit the urban rather than the rural population. Factories have been opened ; employment has been given by them to the few ; an increased unemployment relief has been given to the many ; housing has been accelerated. In the cities undoubtedly there is an impression of a greater circulation of money. There are more cars ; a greater consumption of electricity and gas ; a greater expenditure upon amusement. So far as the towns are concerned there is a superficial appearance of prosperity and expansion. The expansion is, however, lopsided and the prosperity, seen from a national viewpoint, is illusory.

To see the more important results of fostering the towns at the expense of the countryside one must turn to the Preliminary Report of the 1936 Census. That document showed that all over the country there existed a drift from the countryside into the towns. Increases of population were shown in every type of town ; the extent of the increase varied directly with the size of the town. The four County Boroughs (Dublin, Cork, Waterford, and Limerick) and Dun Laoghaire Borough showed an increase of 12·6 per cent. since the previous Census ; the towns with a population of over 10,000 showed an increase of 9·3 per cent. ; the towns with populations varying between 5.000 and 10,000 showed an increase of 4·1 per cent., and the towns with populations between 5,000 and 1,500 showed an increase of 3·4 per cent. For the rest of the country, that is to say the countryside itself and the small villages set in it, a decrease was shown. In the ten years between 1926 and 1936 those areas lost 4·8 per cent. of their population. And these are precisely the areas in which the conservation of population is of the greatest importance. This decline unquestionably

[1] *Irish Independent*, August 10, 1937.

has gone on for decades, but Government policy instead of arresting has accelerated it.

To sum up, every one of the factors which were used to justify partial remission of rates in 1929 are in existence to-day. If in 1931, agricultural pruduction could not be carried on much above the level of bare subsistence, it is certainly impossible to carry it on at anything like the same level under present circumstances. It may be agreed at once, if only for the sake of argument, that certain types of farming have had their losses lessened by subsidies on various forms of production, but no amount of subsidies can cover the drop in agricultural income from £61 millions to £31 millions. Despite decreasing ability to bear taxation, the multiplication of services has continued steadily. Finally, we find that during the last ten years the drain of population from the countryside has continued. It may be thought that the case of a remission of rates has become unanswerable.

But such a conclusion, let it be said at once, is not logical. Undoubtedly the case for relief is unanswerable. Remission, total or partial, of rates is nothing more than a particular form of relief, which may or may not be the most suitable form. Before that point is determined, it must be considered on its merits ; on its effects not only on the budget of the individual farmer but on the structure of local government. It will be suggested that events since the publication of the Report of the Derating Commission have not altered to any significant extent the validity of the reasons which led that body to reject derating as a means of agricultural relief. The necessity for such relief has unquestionably grown more urgent since those days : the reasons against giving it by means of derating have not changed.

The first argument in favour of remission was that the margin of profit to the farmer was unduly low and was further reduced by the necessity of paying rates. As has been said, this margin of profit must by now have practically disappeared. Thus far the case seems strengthened. But is it ? The disappearance of the margin of profit is in no way connected with the problem of rates. It is surely a result of the loss of the

British market and a coincident (in part consequential) fall in agricultural prices. It is, one supposes, unlikely that full trade with Great Britain will be restored before a cycle of economic pacts. In the meantime relief must be given. It can be given in better ways than by derating. In the first place derating must, as will be discussed later, cause a revolution in our system of local government. That, perhaps, would not matter if derating would give relief on the necessary scale. The facts go otherwise. The tables provided for the Derating Commission by the Department of Agriculture showed that rates formed 6½ per cent. of the net expenditure in farms under 25 acres; 6 per cent. of the expenditure on farms between 25 and 50 acres and 5 per cent. of the expenditure on farms between 50 and 75 acres. Since the great majority of farmers in this country occupy farms not exceeding 50 acres, the ratio of rates to farm expenses on the typical farm comes, in fact, to be nearer 6 per cent. That ratio can hardly be said to be very high. One point made by the Commission must be conceded—that while the ratio may not be high it may well be felt to be unjust when it is swollen by the expense of services for which the farmer feels no need. That is a point which will be considered later, and it may well be felt to hold some truth. But it does not appear from these figures that rates are so high a proportion of agricultural expenses as to show a *prima facie* case for their remission.

The second main argument advanced before the Derating Commission was that the Irish farmer has been placed at a competitive disadvantage by the fact that agricultural land had been derated in the United Kingdom. It is quite certain that there was little substance in this argument under the old conditions of free competition which prevailed in 1929. The output, at that time, of the derated British farmers was plainly insufficient to influence the market price. It was nothing more preponderating than 50·4 per cent. of the beef, veal and cattle consumed in the United Kingdom; 54·7 per cent. of the mutton, lamb and sheep; 35·6 per cent. of the pig meats and pigs; 46·7 per cent. of the poultry; and 12·6 per cent. of the butter, making a total of 39·7 per cent. of

the whole. That amount of the total production coming on to the market is not sufficient to influence the price which importers can obtain. The proportion may indeed have increased slightly since, but it is very plain that it cannot increase to the point at which importers will find variations in the ruling prices fixed by the British output.

That argument undoubtedly refers to a state of affairs which has passed away. Entrance to the British market is no longer free, and its ruling prices are no longer fixed by free competition. The change, however, cannot advance the argument for remission of rates. If the statistics which disproved the necessity for remission have been altered by changed circumstances, the argument which sought to prove that necessity has completely disappeared. If the British market is no longer an area of free competition, then the fact that agricultural land is derated in Britain and is not in the Free State can make no difference, competitively speaking. Let us wait at least until the Irish farmer has received his import quota before rushing to abolish rates. It may be said in passing that the Irish farmer will concentrate, as of old, on the best quality market, and it is precisely that market in which he holds a competitive advantage which needs no derating to strengthen.

Leaving aside for the moment a fundamental objection to our present system of local taxation—that which argues that it defrays the cost of services which the farmer neither uses nor desires—we may examine the necessity of stemming rural depopulation. It is undeniable that this necessity exists. It is equally apparent that this movement is quite unconnected with the question of rates. It may indeed require a number of measures for the relief, in the widest sense, of agriculture. But the movement from the town to the country has gone on continually for over a hundred years. Its existence in this country was concealed by the greater evil of emigration. Nevertheless emigration itself was a form of that movement, being essentially a trend from the Irish countryside to the cities of the United States. Emigration to that country has now ceased and has been replaced by migration to the Irish and, very obviously, to the English

cities. It is a movement influenced by almost innumerable trends—the agricultural revolution, the industrial revolution, the rise in standards of living, the growth of cities, the facility of communication—a thousand things. Amongst them all, remission of rates would appear a very small thing indeed.

We have gone thus far without even mentioning the two really striking arguments against remission of rates. For the purposes of this argument their mention is superfluous, but a reminder of their existence is perhaps desirable. The first is, as always, the cost. The valuation of agricultural land in each administrative county formed, in the year 1929-30, no less than 72 per cent. of the total valuation. If the urban district areas be excluded, that proportion would increase to 81 per cent. It would vary between 55 per cent. in Co. Dublin and 89 per cent. in Co. Meath. Derating of agricultural land was made possible in England by the fact that the proportion of rates thus derived formed an infinitesimal part of the whole. In the Free State the position is exactly reversed. (When, one wonders, will someone be inspired to take as an election slogan the derating of land used for industry ?) If derating is to be carried through in the Free State, the money will have to be found otherwise than by increased rates on non-agricultural land. In other words, it will have to be found by extra taxation. It is difficult to see how taxation can be reduced at the same time as the rates are remitted.

Even presuming that such a miracle were to be accomplished, there remains a question of some importance. If the rates were replaced by a grant from the Exchequer, the various local bodies would find themselves in the position that over 95 per cent. of the moneys administered by them would come from the State. It is certain that the first result would be that the control of the State over local expenditure would be tightened. In short, the County Councils and the other local bodies would have lost their powers either of levying moneys for local services or of spending them. It is difficult to see what useful functions they would retain, and the result would certainly be that interest in local administration would disappear. It may be that the existing system of local govern-

ment requires revision. It must be admitted that various modifications since the Report of the Derating Commission might be held to make such a revision necessary. But if that be so, the issues thus raised are so large as to demand consideration on their own merits and should not be hastily mentioned as side-issues in a controversy on derating.

One argument for remission remains to be considered. It was submitted that a proportion of the rates goes to serve purposes which the farmer either does not consider necessary or feels should be charged on the community at large. The chief of these are the upkeep of mental hospitals, of roads and of poor relief. The reasons which impelled the Commission to reject this argument seem to have been modified by subsequent events. It is true that the transfer of mental hospitals to the State would involve an equalisation of standards of upkeep, salaries, pensions and other incidental expenditure. It is possibly true that the taxpayer would lose more by these than the ratepayer would gain. But there are two considerations which may be mentioned. In the first place, the funds available for hospital equipment to-day are vastly in advance of those available seven years ago. Indeed the State obtains a proportion of its revenue from the source of that expenditure. It does not seem unreasonable that the State should in return contribute to the upkeep of that tax. The second reason is perhaps depressing. The proportion of mental deficiency (certified and uncertified) in the country has always been higher in Ireland than in England. It has been shown to be on the increase in England, and the assumption can be made that a similar increase has occurred here. If that is so, and if that increase continues, it will present a problem which cannot be left to the local bodies, but must be resolved by the State. In that case transfer would be inevitable, and there does not appear to be any reason why the State should delay until the last possible moment to perform its duty. Here, then, is one obvious form of relief for the farmer.

It is more difficult to consider the transfer of poor relief. The position in regard to it and to unemployment assistance has been transformed since 1931, so that the arguments for

and against its transfer have little validity to-day. This much may be said, that the re-constitution of our economy, industrial and agricultural, will need sooner or later a revision of the existing position. In the course of that revision the administration of poor relief may be considered. It is, however, impossible not to agree with the majority of the Commission that this is pre-eminently a service which requires local knowledge. It might also be said that this is perhaps the local service whose upkeep by rates arouses least hostility.

It is otherwise with the roads, and it is impossible not to feel that the argument for the transfer of their upkeep is well-founded. The upkeep of the main roads means in effect a process of making them suitable for modern traffic—of widening roads, banking corners, improving surfaces, removing cambers, cutting hedges and a host of other things which make motoring more pleasant for the tourist and more speedy for the van-driver. The farmer returning from market feels no gratitude for a banked corner or a slippery surface. The only advantage of it all to him is a possible action against an insurance company. There does not seem any reason why the total cost of the upkeep of these roads should not be borne by the State ; and although unquestionably the transfer of local roads would raise some difficulty, there is no reason why a grant in aid should not be made from the Exchequer. Its amount, as in the case of the services generally, would not be large, but for that very reason would not increase taxation to any sensible extent. Moreover, as has been indicated, the objection to defraying the expenses of these services by local taxation is chiefly psychological.

It does not appear, therefore, that derating would provide any solution to the present crisis of agriculture. In the first place, it would not be sufficient to set the farmers on their feet ; in the second place, its adoption would raise a number of difficulties which would involve the whole system of local government. On the other hand, a certain amount of relief could be given by reform of the system of valuation and, to a much greater extent, by the transference to the Exchequer of certain services now defrayed by rates on the lines just

indicated. One doubts, however, if the relief so given would be adequate. Also, on account of the administrative changes which would be necessary, it would hardly be immediate. The position of Irish agriculture, however, is such that immediate relief is necessary, and, therefore, any changes in the system of local taxation should be only supplementary to other and more extensive measures.

It is perhaps too much to hope that the difficulty would be solved by allowing the farmer to sell in his natural market. By means of annual trade pacts slowly broadening down from horses to cattle we may yet regain some freedom of trade. By the time that happens, however, it may be too late. The provision of agricultural credit at more reasonable rates than those now obtaining would do much to help the farmer. His most pressing need after these years of falling prices is ready money for re-stocking and for improvements. Secondly, it is not too much to hope that if the present policy of subsidies is to be continued, agriculture will benefit by it to a greater degree than in the past. Lastly, it is high time, and not for the sake of agriculture alone, that something be done about the cost of living. If the country is to sacrifice its export trade and suffer a catastrophic decline in income, it is in no condition to pay for the luxury of an all-round tariff policy. Since the income to agriculture has been reduced to a greater extent than that of any other section of the community, the farmer has suffered most by the rise and would gain most by a fall in the cost of living. If relief is given by these means, it will then be time to decide upon desirability of derating and the revision of local taxation.

JAMES MEENAN

CARLISM IN THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR

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Part III*

CARLISM, or the Traditionalist Communion, is playing a decisive and important part in the present civil war in Spain, and it is the object of this third article to describe the contribution it is making to the nationalist movement. A comparison between the present struggle and the two civil wars in the last century is striking and illuminating; but before it can be made, some preliminary remarks are necessary.

We have seen how Carlism provided a consistent and sometimes violent opposition to liberalism throughout the nineteenth century, and have seen the grounds upon which this opposition was based. Forced to have recourse to arms in order to seize power, its weakness lay in the fact that not only was it fighting against the whole organization of the State but also against the whole spirit of the age, for liberalism was everywhere in the ascendant in Europe and making new conquests. Carlism in Europe did not then correspond to a movement that was playing an effective part in the development of any European nation: it stood for just the opposite, and it stood alone. This does not mean that the characteristic ideas of Spanish traditionalism were not to be found in other countries: it means that other countries could not at that time show the same determined and "revolutionary" traditionalist party.

This isolated position does much to explain the decline of Carlism and its ineffectiveness during the period between the end of the second civil war and the coming of the republic in 1931. This second civil war, when compared with the first, clearly revealed how much ground Carlism had lost. The first had been fought out in the Basque country, Catalonia,

* For Parts I and II, see issues of March and June.

Aragon and Valencia, from all of which provinces the traditionalists derived very considerable support. Carlist armies had even advanced to the gates of Madrid and marched through Extremadura and Andalusia. The second found the struggle localized in the Basque country—which, with the exception of Bilbao, alone rallied to the support of the pretender. Bilbao, then, as in the first war, held out for the liberals and could never be taken.

This loss of provincial support on the part of a movement that claimed to stand for regionalism as against centralization reveals, I think, a new and important line of division. Catalonia was rapidly becoming the most industrialized part of Spain; its capital, Barcelona, was beginning to acquire a large proletarian population. Bilbao was taking second place only to Barcelona as an industrial city. Valencia and the south, thanks to foreign capital, were beginning to exploit their agriculture on a large scale and to build up a considerable foreign trade. The face of a large part of Spain had changed or was changing, and with these changes there came altered social conditions. The old or rural order upon which Carlism depended had there departed or was departing. Urban industrialism and large-scale agricultural production were incompatible with Carlism.

This incompatibility meant that Carlism could no longer satisfy the regionalist aspirations of the more progressive provinces, and this inevitably bred separatism. The movement towards Catalan separatism has been as much economic as cultural and political; and Carlism, while it championed regionalism and decentralization, had no sympathy with separatism. In any case, its failure in the second civil war, a failure that seemed final, showed the powerlessness of Carlism to champion regionalism effectively. This led to the withdrawal of part of the Basque country from its traditional allegiance. Navarre, unaffected by the spread of industrialism, remained preponderantly loyal; Vizcaya, on the other hand, dominated by Bilbao, prosperous and industrialized, girding against its economic subjection to Madrid, embraced separatism and gave vent to its desire for independence (a desire which

Carlism had failed to satisfy) in the Basque Nationalist movement—a movement which belied its name by never obtaining the support of the majority of the Basques.[1]

The Carlists always championed regionalism in the name of national unity, never against it. They criticized the separatists for taking, in Mella's phrase, the ant's view instead of the eagle's; for seeing in the body of Spain only the distinctive characteristics of the members composing it, and not the spirit that gave life to the body and a purpose and function to each member. While maintaining that every region had a distinctive historical and juridical "personality," they could never admit that it had ever been or could ever be an historical unit, complete and independent in itself. Regional life found its fulfilment in the national life: to cut it off from its fulfilment meant stagnation. The Basque and Catalan separatists, on the other hand, maintained fanatically that they were not and never had been Spaniards, and that they sought independence as a slave seeks freedom. This divergence of views alone, creating as it did much rivalry and bitterness, would probably have been sufficient to ensure that the Basque Nationalists and the Carlists would find themselves on opposite sides in any future conflict. Later developments, as we shall see, made this inevitable.

The turn of the century, therefore, found Carlism reduced to Navarre as its only stronghold. There were still Carlists elsewhere in Spain, but only in Navarre and in a few other parts of the Basque country did they exist in sufficient numbers to return deputies to the Cortes or councillors to the municipalities. For the vast majority of Spaniards they were the unaccountable dichards, strange and outmoded survivors of

[1] It would be going beyond the scope of this article to trace the vicissitudes of the Basque *fueros* by outlining the legislation, passed between 1876 and 1926, that governed the provincial and municipal administration of Navarre and the three other Basque provinces. Such privileges as were obtained were slight compared with those that had prevailed for centuries. They were concerned with little more than the collecting of taxes and were far from bestowing the "autarchy" that the Carlists claimed. The conquest of Vizcaya and Guipuzcoa by General Franco has not meant the abolition of the *fueros* in those provinces, as the English press has stated: it has meant only the abolition of this separate system of taxation. The system of autonomous social organization that the *fueros* safeguarded disappeared in 1841. For a detailed account of this subject see J. Garrán y Moso, *El Sistema Foral de Navarra y Provincias Vascongadas* (Pamplona, 1935).

an age that seemed remote. They appeared so out of touch with reality that nobody could ever have thought that they would again wield any influence in the nation's affairs. So harmless was their movement considered that it was invested with an aura of romantic legend, and people smiled sympathetically when they read of the leading Carlists periodically paying their respects to their exiled sovereign, "James III," who in 1909 had succeeded his father "Charles VII" as pretender to the throne of Spain.

In 1931 the republic came. As sixty years previously, the throne had collapsed and the country had once more embarked on a fateful political experiment. The old conservative and liberal parties were gone for ever. Modern left-wing and "progressive" parties, in collaboration with the socialists, had leapt into office from nowhere and were vigorously and hurriedly attempting to rebuild Spain on radical, secularist and anti-clerical lines. Conservative and Catholic opinion, lulled into a torpor by several years of dictatorship, was taken by surprise, unprepared and unorganized. The Left had a clear field before them, and proceeded to make the most of it unmindful of the fact that their easy victory had been obtained under exceptional circumstances and in no sense represented the feelings of the country.

It was not long before opposition began to make itself felt outside the Cortes—within the Cortes it was practically negligible—and the new parties that were later to constitute the Right began to take shape. Political and social theories that Carlism had long proclaimed were taken over—the principle of authoritarian government, the corporative organization of society. Balmes, Donoso Cortés and Mella were widely read and accepted as authorities: it was realized that their criticisms of liberalism, democracy and capitalism had a practical applicability to the contemporary situation. A fascist party, *Falange Espanola*, even made its appearance. The fortunes of the Traditionalist Communion could not remain unaffected by this resurgence of right-wing political thought, and it came into new life on the crest of the wave. In the same year that saw the birth of the second republic Don Jaime, the pretender,

had died childless. He was succeeded by his uncle Don Alfonso Carlos, the last of the legitimist line, who despite his great age (he was then eighty-two) began to take a leading and active part in the rebuilding of the Communion.

The present writer attended the first political meetings on a large scale that the Carlists held in Madrid during the winter of 1932-1933. It was his first realization that Carlism still existed, and the huge and enthusiastic audiences made it seem probable that it could again become a force to be reckoned with. It began to make considerable headway, attracting many young men to its ranks and overshadowing the Alfonsist monarchists. Much of this progress was due to the general dissatisfaction with the Azaña government rather than to a belief that Carlism was practical politics, and it was a progress that was not maintained in the three years that followed. But this initial impulse had started a revival that was to bear its fruit in July of last year.

Two other parties, however, were each in turn destined to come to the front: *Acción Popular* and the *Falange*. The Carlists never hoped or wished to attain power through the electoral system. They were as intransigeantly opposed to any compromise with it as they had ever been. All that they looked forward to was Mella's prognostication that the liberal system would collapse in anarchy, and they firmly believed that the republic would soon bring this to pass. The majority of right-wing opinion was, naturally enough, not content to sit back and do nothing until this happened. The result was the creation by Señor Gil Robles of *Acción Popular* (later extended into the C.E.D.A., *Confederación Espanola de Derechas Autónomas*). This new party became a powerful movement almost overnight. It was strongly Catholic, aiming at the reform of the constitution and the abrogation of the anti-religious legislation; at an authoritarian, corporative state; and it put forward an advanced policy of economic reform on the lines of the social encyclicals. Its strength lay in the fact that its policy was not only based on traditionalist lines but appeared at the same time to be eminently practical, for it repudiated all revolutionary intentions and strove to work

through the system for the reform of the system. Its weakness lay firstly in its opportunism, for Gil Robles never committed himself to a clear definition of what his ultimate policy would be: he "accepted" the republic and shelved the question of what form his authoritarian government should take, thereby being accepted neither as republican by the republicans nor as monarchist by the monarchists; he paid lip-service to regionalism while opposing the Catalan statutes of autonomy in the name of national unity, never declaring how he would satisfy regional aspirations. The weakness of his party lay secondly in the fact that, though it became the largest in the Cortes after the elections of 1933, it was not strong enough to make the most of the widespread reaction against the Left, and he was forced to support and later enter into coalition with the Radicals, a party too weak to initiate any constructive legislation and riddled with all the traditional vices of Spanish politics.

This unsatisfactory arrangement was necessitated by the fact that an abrupt change to a coalition right-wing government would have led to a revolution of socialists, syndicalists and communists (as the Asturias revolt of 1934 later proved); it was also necessitated by the fact that such a coalition was out of the question, for the traditionalists and Alfonsists, though they united with Gil Robles for the purpose of winning the elections, were strongly opposed to his methods.

The Carlists, therefore, went into opposition to the C.E.D.A.-Radical governments and, faced with the dangerous reality of communism, anarchism and separatism, became more conservative (in our sense of the word) than their acceptance of Mella's principles would have led one to suppose. They opposed Gil Robles's land policy—the expropriation, with indemnity, of the large estates and the creation of small landed proprietors—on the plea that this was demagogic politics. They opposed Catalan autonomy and the projected scheme of Basque autonomy. In this they were more consistent, for Mella had also criticized the separatist aspirations of Basques and Catalans on the ground that they would merely decentralize the existing system and produce three liberal states where

formerly there had been only one. It was because regionalism had come to mean this that the left-wing parties accepted it. They were willing to compromise with Catalan separatism by granting autonomy because they were certain that Barcelona, strongly left-wing, would never initiate a social, economic or religious policy that would conflict with theirs in Madrid. They had not the same certainty with regard to the Basques—hence the postponement with which they greeted their statute. Nevertheless, they were committed to the principle of regional autonomy on these lines, with the result that the Basque Nationalists, sacrificing all other interests to this one desire for an autonomy that they hoped would eventually lead to independence, tended to an alliance with the Left—with whom they had nothing in common—rather than to an alliance with the Right—with whom, save on this one point, they had a great deal in common. It was this that made inevitable the alliance of Bilbao with Madrid last July—inevitable, that is, if the Basque Nationalists were to remain consistent in their policy of autonomy first and at any price.

The weakness of Gil Robles's position, as outlined above, meant that the country drifted through two sterile years and ended in the formation and electoral victory of the Popular Front. For the first time the whole of the Left, from the liberals of Azaña and Martínez Barrio down to the communists and syndicalists, went united to the polls. For the first time all parties voted; for hitherto the syndicalists, true to their anarchist principles, had never voted. The result showed that the country was split, between the Left and the Right-Centre, almost exactly into half; but the Popular Front acquired a majority in seats that it did not possess in votes. This alone would have made the situation highly unsatisfactory; but it was further complicated by the fact that the Popular Front, which was supposed to govern Spain for four years, was as dangerous and absurd a political alliance as could ever have been devised. There was (apart from the religious question which is thus seen to have been of paramount importance) far more separating Azaña from his syndicalist supporters than from his opponents of the C.E.D.A. This inherent weakness

in the government soon became apparent, for it was powerless to check the anarchical tendencies of its extremists. The story of these few months is well known and need not be repeated. Chaos was rife. On the one hand the government was powerless to keep order and the extremists were making the most of that fact. On the other hand Gil Robles was largely discredited; many of his supporters in the country, dissatisfied with the failure of his policy, were deserting to the *Falange*. Fascists sprang up everywhere, returning violence for violence. The moderate elements on both sides counted for little. The extremists of the Left and Right were taking charge.

Realizing from the first that the republic would never become stable and believing that Gil Robles's policy would lead nowhere, the Traditionalist Communion prepared itself for the coming struggle. Though the Count de Rodezno was the parliamentary leader and official head of the party, the effective leadership in organization passed to Don Manuel Fal Conde, a young lawyer of Seville. Imprisoned after the Sanjurjo revolt of August, 1932, he began on his release a widespread and clandestine campaign of recruiting and organizing a future army of Carlist volunteers—the *requetés*—formed from men of all ages and all classes. His success in this campaign and his obvious powers of leadership and organization led to his assumption of the official leadership of the Communion and of the *requetés* on the accidental death of General Sanjurjo last July (who was to have led the *requetés*)—being appointed his "Chief Delegate" by Don Alfonso Carlos. When the crisis had come to a head, he joined with the army and the *Falange* in their decision to overthrow the Popular Front.

The mobilization of the *requetés* in Pamplona, the capital of Navarre, began immediately after the rising in Morocco. General Mola at Burgos, whose task it was to win over to the movement as much of the north as possible, could count only on a handful of civil guards and Fal Conde's *requetés*. Within a week Navarre had mobilized a total of 35,000, a number that would have been much larger had there been a sufficient supply of arms. It was estimated that in the first month there were another 35,000 *requetés* in the other provinces that had joined

the movement, but this number did not include those who had enlisted in the regular army. By the end of September, once armaments could be supplied, the number of Navarrese *requetés* had risen to 62,000, and in December it was estimated that there were altogether 200,000 of them in the three nationalist armies.[1] The total effective membership of the Traditionalist Communion in December was put at close on 500,000, comprising the *requetés*, *Margaritas* (the women's organization, who serve as nurses, make uniforms, etc.) and the *Pelayos* or boys' organization.

The importance for the movement of this unprecedented mobilization on a volunteer basis of the civil population of a whole province cannot be overestimated. Without it the movement must have failed at the outset, for not only did Navarre break communications between the Basque Nationalists and the Catalans, preventing the advance of either, but it helped to save the situation, which had become desperate on the failure of the Madrid garrisons to gain control of the capital, by providing General Mola with the bulk of the army with which he marched south to the Guadarramas and held the government forces until General Franco had organized his southern army and marched to the outskirts of Madrid. Without the Navarrese *requetés* the whole country north of Madrid would probably have been lost and General Franco would have made no progress at all. Their achievements, however, were not only defensive. They contributed the army that captured Irún and San Sebastián, and they played an important part in the capture of Bilbao.

Foreign observers have been struck with the discipline of the *requetés*, their courage and religious fervour, their wholehearted devotion to their cause. They wear their red berets with the same pride as their grandfathers before them. There is now as then the same "crusading" and "mystical" spirit, which seems even stranger and more out of place in modern warfare than it was sixty years ago: "The young men attacked with faith in their victory, with faith in

[1] These figures are taken from interviews given by Fal Conde and other leading Carlists to foreign journalists; they have been republished with other articles from the foreign press under the title *Fal Conde y el Requeté* (Editorial Requeté, 1937. See pp. 60, 133, 169).

God ; a bomb in one hand, a rosary in the other. Our enemies must also fear dynamite, but they don't believe in Heaven. This is not a civil war : it is a religious war."[1] The prayer-book that each Carlist volunteer carries with him (*Devocionario del Requeté*) keeps always before his eyes the death that he may be called upon to suffer : " You are placing your life at the service of the cause of God ; praise the Divine Mercy for having enlightened your conscience with the light that illumines the path of the greatest sacrifice." " Any death is good if it opens the gates of Heaven . . . If it comes to you, do not fear it ; take your rest in Christ."

Once more, therefore, the situation in Spain is fundamentally the same as it was a hundred years ago and again sixty years ago. But there are great differences as well. The Carlists are fighting the ideological descendants of their former foes, but they are no longer fighting *alone*. That is the first fact of primary historical importance. It was pointed out in the first article of this series that the tragedy of Carlism's early history was its break, and therefore enmity, with a large section of traditionalist opinion, thereby forcing it into an alliance with liberalism. There is no such break to-day. The line of division, due to the greater complexity of modern politics, is not an absolutely clear-cut one ; but it is a safe generalization to say that for the first time in the history of modern Spain the struggle is between the whole of the Right and the whole of the Left. It began as a rising of only part of the Right, but once it became clear on what a scale the struggle would be fought out, the rest of the Right had to come in. It is not, therefore, exclusively, or even primarily, a third Carlist war, for the Carlists are now in a minority. The second Carlist war was confined to the Basque country ; the present war has involved the whole of Spain. Bilbao the " unconquerable " has this time been conquered.

The second fact of historical importance is that the Spanish " anti-liberals " are no longer isolated from the rest of Europe. Their movement now has affinities with movements abroad that have already changed Europe. Further, it has enlisted the

[1] From an account of a battle given by a colonel of the *requetés* to an Argentine reporter. *Op. cit.*, p. 48.

sympathy and active support of powerful European nations, whereas Carlism in the last century had no such sympathizers and allies, and such active support as foreign countries then gave went to the liberals. All this has completely changed the character of the century-old struggle between traditionalism and liberalism, and for the first time it is possible for Carlism to be on the winning side. What most people who talk glibly of the Italian and German conquest of democratic Spain do not realize is that the Spanish nationalist movement is completely Spanish in ancestry, that it is a logical, historical development of a tradition deeply rooted in Spanish history and far older than the "democracy" it is attempting to conquer. It is precisely this that is the great achievement of Carlism, for the traditionalism to which all right-wing parties, in different ways, were converted in 1931, and which is the basis of the present nationalist movement, is something that has remained alive and indigenous, thanks to the Carlists. They preached and fought for the principle of authority in government and the corporative organization of social and economic life long before fascism was ever dreamt of.

It is only since the Popular Front came into power, or more strictly since the beginning of the war, that the *Falange Espanola* has taken the first place numerically among Spanish right-wing parties. It has been largely an *ad hoc* creation, meeting totalitarianism with totalitarianism, class radicalism with nationalist radicalism. At the beginning of the civil war it had 10,000 members; it now claims to have 1,000,000. The appeal which it now exercises is to be explained by the fact that it naturally appears to possess a more modern and practical programme than Carlism, for the latter must still seem to many to be too idealistic and behind the times. Further, by its radical social programme, its professed antagonism to wealth and to capitalists, it can appeal to the urban industrial worker, and has in fact enlisted many thousands. Carlism has never had this appeal in the towns; its working-class support (if such it can be called) has come from the peasantry. It appeals to the survivors of the old order rather than to those born of the new order that it has consistently attacked.

The active adhesion of the Carlists to General Franco's rising does not mean that they have abandoned any item of their traditional programme. They are willing to shelve their programme and support military rule until such time as their programme can become practical politics. As Fal Conde declared last September: " . . . we could not remain indifferent. General Mola realized the value of obtaining our support and co-operation; and he firmly refused to rise until he could count on the support of the *requetés*. The result of these negotiations with Mola was the active co-operation of Carlism in the national movement. And we have promised the General not to insist on any form of government as long as the war lasts, and to support the military Directory that will assume the task of restoring order to the nation."[1]

While refraining from any political intervention, the Carlists have not been idle in propaganda. Their experts have been busy drawing up, in a more detailed form than ever before, their plans for reconstructing the new state on traditionalist and corporative lines, while not touching the question of the monarchy. It would take far too long to give a detailed account of this programme, and a summary would merely repeat the ideas outlined in the two previous articles.[2] The insistence is, as before, on religion and patriotism: the new order is to be " Christian and national." The corporative principle is applied in detail to every sphere of social and economic activity, the stress being on the corporation as a co-operative organism through which the community, and not the individual, expresses itself and functions. But the most

[1] From an interview published in *La Tribune Des Nations*, Geneva, 15 October, 1936. When asked how they would solve the dynastic question, Fal Conde replied that the problem did not concern them for the moment. Don Alfonso Carlos died on September 28, 1936, and with him the Carlist line came to an end. In his testament he declared that since Prince John, the heir of Alfonso XIII, would not accept the Carlist programme, he appointed as " Regent " Prince Xavier of Bourbon-Parma. This prince, the tenth son of the last reigning Duke of Parma, belongs to the Parma line of the House of Bourbon-Anjou, and is a direct descendant of Philip V of Spain. This testament, an interesting document, can be read in *Boinas Rojas en Austria* (Editorial Requeté), pp. 132-7.

[2] The full programme can be found in the following publications:—Three pamphlets without date and publisher's name: *Obra Nacional-corporativa*; *Estatutos de la Obra Nacional-corporativa*; *Movimiento Nacional-agrario*. A longer work entitled: *Corporativismo Gremial, La Organizacion Social en la Espana Nueva* (Editorial Requeté, 1937). And finally the most recent work, presenting the whole programme in a final form: *Obra Nacional Corporativa, Plan* (May 1937, Editorial Espanola).

striking aspect of modern Carlism is its attitude to the country as against the town. At the beginning of this article it was suggested that the division between Carlism and the different varieties of liberalism was largely the division between a rural and an industrial civilization. For the Carlists of to-day there is no doubt where the line of cleavage in the civil war lies.

They approach agriculture and the land, they state, from a very different point of view to other human activities, since it is for them the most spiritual, vital and basic of them all. "On the land there have still survived nuclei of social and economic organisms that have kept alive the virtues characteristic of a strong and healthy people. The families that have not yet been entirely corrupted by the dissolution of social life, still group themselves round the home, their members still being united by the most noble human sentiments and the most sacred duties. Work, with them, is still an ennobling and joyous obligation, honour a concept full of meaning, and religious faith a sublime and certain means of remedying, in the interpretation of life and things, the lack of a scientific education. In the modern world, and especially in countries like Spain, cities with their suburbs that give a character and a stamp to a whole epoch of unbridled industrialization represent the massing together and disintegration of human beings, bringing to the surface all that is most animal and sub-human; while the villages and the land represent the healthy and fecund reserves of strength, ignored in the calculations of the politicians of urban democracy, but on which, nevertheless, nations continue to live."

We, on proclaiming this National-Agrarian Movement to be the most vital and fundamental part of our programme, return to the very source of national life to search in it for the strength that will make it possible to begin the radical reforms that circumstances now make imperative. . . .

The present war in Spain, a decisive clash of ideas and civilisations, is developing under the standard of the struggle between the country and the town. It has been the most characteristically rural provinces of Spain—Navarre and the two Castiles, Aragon and Andalusia, Galicia and Extremadura—that have risen in the name of the whole spiritual and historical meaning of Spain to assert this meaning in face of the

great treason of the industrial and anonymous suburbs of Madrid, Barcelona and Bilbao, which had sold it to Russia for the momentary satisfaction of their lowest appetites.

The land, therefore, claims the right to stamp the new order with the seal of its virile virtues, its ascetic customs and its profoundly religious faith. . . .

The spirituality of the land and of the villages has religion as its only manifestation. The religious spirit of the Spanish soil, even when disfigured or only intuitive, is a reality that cannot be destroyed . . . All the social manifestations of rural life—festivities, marriages, births, death—are either an act of religion or a degradation of degradations. The greatest failure of the Marxist revolution has been the attempt to suppress these signs of religion, for it has only succeeded in saddening the villages and in robbing life in them of all its attractions. If the peasants of Spain still possess the greatest reserves of civilization, it is because religion has preserved in their breasts the eternal moral values that ensure the fecundity and continuity of life. We do not wish to impose religion on the peasantry as part of a political programme. We claim it back for them as the first of their rights, their finest patrimony, the characteristic feature of their lives. It will be our constant endeavour to help this religious spirit to acquire depth, vigour and splendour.

Traditionalism is by its very essence a rural and agricultural movement . . . its triumph will be the triumph of the land, and its first task will be to shift the axis of public life from the town to the country. The honest and simple Spain of the villages against the corrupted Spain of the urban suburbs—that is the meaning of this struggle. . . Spain, above all, is its villages. When this unprecedented war has laid the big towns in ruins . . . this Spain of the villages will be poorer, more sorrowful and more in anguish, but purer and stronger than ever . . .

We must claim for the land the right to mark the rhythm and the tone of the national life. The urban idea of an easy and comfortable existence, of petty material satisfactions that have created the degrading ideal of a standardized happiness with no other horizon than comfort and the cinema—this conception of life has proved a lamentable failure. We are initiating a stern and heroic period of greatness, in which only the hard and virgin soul of the fields can provide the spiritual strength that is necessary. The age that is approaching will be eminently rural.

I have preferred to emphasize this aspect of the programme rather than their proposals for economic reform, for the view of life that this reveals is far more capable of explaining the movement, of explaining the Carlist intervention in this civil war and their conception of what they are fighting for. It is

this view of life that is the vital thing; it is this contribution to the Spanish nationalist movement that gives it a unique character; for here, as nowhere else, is a clear and definite statement of what a leading section of that movement considers to be the primary issue at stake in European civilization.

The agricultural policy of the Carlists is not as radical as that of the *Falange*. The Carlists do not look upon a big estate as necessarily evil because it is big, or on a landlord as evil because he is a landlord. But they do insist that a large estate must be cultivated or pass into other hands; that a landlord must live on and administer his estate or cease to be a landlord; and that enclosures must return to their former status of common land. They also hold that the continued existence of a large estate will be governed by the economic conditions consequent upon what it produces, and on the social conditions there prevailing. Where these latter require a readjustment of ownership, such readjustment must be made. But they are opposed to an indiscriminate redistribution of land, maintaining that every case must be judged on its merits. Above all, they insist that the land must be worked and that this work must be remunerative to those engaged in it. To describe the methods by which they hope to achieve this would be to enter into technicalities beyond the scope of this article.

Having traced in broad outline the history and policy of Carlism from its birth to the present day, we are faced with its future. How far, if the nationalist movement is victorious, will Carlism prevail over the other parties composing the movement? Will it be able to achieve the end for which it has fought so long? Obviously no definite answer is possible. There are, however, certain facts that must be borne in mind. The first is that the *Falange* is much the more powerful party; the second is that the decree of General Franco, of April 20 of this year, which unifies the parties supporting him into one national movement, seems to subordinate the Carlists and the others to the *Falange*. The new party, which is called the *Falange Espanola Tradicionalista*, accepts the fascist programme while leaving open the question of a monarchical restoration. It was natural that the *Falange's* predominant position should

be officially recognised in this way, but too much importance need not be attached to this decree. Tactical reasons seem to have prompted it : the elimination of the rivalry and dissensions to which the *Falange* appears to be prone. This is its weakness, for it is a party that has grown to great size and influence too quickly and in the abnormal and violent conditions of a civil war. It lacks leadership and therefore unity ; it lacks the cohesion and stability that only years of careful constructive discipline could have given it. This weakness is the Carlists' strength, for they can provide this cohesion and consistency. It is unlikely that they could assume control of a victorious nationalist Spain in the near future ; but they must have a great say in its development, for they have a privileged position within the movement.

There are points of contact between traditionalism and fascism, as well as divergencies. Both have a strong nationalism in common, but traditionalism subordinates nationalism to religion, fascism subordinates religion to nationalism. Both aim at the corporative state, but fascism looks upon the corporations as state organisms imposed from above, while traditionalism looks upon them as social organisms growing up from below with a " social sovereignty " of their own. Fascism has a totalitarian conception of the state : one form of sovereignty governing all social activities ; traditionalism, as we have already seen, makes the fundamental distinction between political and social sovereignty : political sovereignty alone is the state, which is therefore far from being totalitarian.

How these points of contact can be made effective and the divergencies overcome, only time can tell. But whatever the outcome may be, it is safe to say that all that will be best in a victorious nationalist Spain will be due to Carlism's long and consistent championship of Catholic social tradition, and that the success of the new State will depend on the depth and genuineness of the spirituality that is Carlism's contribution.

A. A. Parker

THE DEPRESSED CLASSES OF INDIA

Their Struggle for Emancipation

BY GERARD BAADER, S.J.

ACCORDING to the Hindu creed, the origin of the Depressed Classes—also known as pariahs, outcastes, Untouchables, Harijans—lies in the divine law of *Karma*, the just retribution of the individual soul for its good or bad acts during successive reincarnations. The pariahs are reaping the bitter fruit of sin in past lives; they are by divine ordinance or dispensation condemned to degrading occupations. Therefore they, as everybody else, have to accept their lot; by humbly serving the higher castes, by prayer, worship, observance of the special rules laid down for them, they can now sow the seeds for a better rebirth, if fate should so ordain it (Hindus deny—many explicitly, all implicitly—the freedom of the will). *Karma*, with its iron sceptre, rules the universe and makes it move, down to the tiniest parts, with a precision from which escape is impossible. The world, as it exists, with its good and evil, its happiness and misery, its apparent love and apparent injustice, must be accepted; that a change is possible, that a change might be for the benefit and to the liking of some, is not a reason why a change should be made. The injunctions of Hinduism are often as cruel to the individual Caste Hindu as to the mass of the Depressed Classes. Here is an instance which occurred in May, 1934. "It is reported from Jattarodid, suburb of Nagpur, that a Caste Hindu woman accidentally fell into a well while drawing water. Hearing the cries for help, two Harijan (Mahar) youths rushed to the spot and attempted to dive into the well to save her life. They were, however, prevented by Caste Hindu women from doing so, on the ground that the water of the well would be polluted by contact with the would-be rescuers. The girl in the meantime was drowned."[1]

[1] *Examiner*, May 14, 1934.

The real origin of the Depressed Classes is, like the history of the entire caste system, a question much disputed among India's best historians. Race, conquest and occupation seem to have been the main factors in the first stages of the development; later the spirit of the Brahmanic religion and philosophy entered and turned the natural divisions into the elaborate caste system of "supernatural" rigidity. The great majority of the Untouchables represent original peoples who had been the masters of India before the Dravidas and the Aryans invaded their country and subdued them. Subsequent invasions submerged some of them still more without obliterating them. The more migratory tribes among them, though they may have as low a standard of morality and intelligence as the rest, have, as a rule, kept above the stratum of untouchability and acquired their recognized ranks within the Hindu social hierarchy. It is very likely that the "massa damnata" of the pariahs was swelled considerably by high-born Hindus who lost their caste through defilement or official excommunication; it was also swelled by the offspring of illegitimate unions between members of higher and lower castes or outcastes.

Such subdued and ostracized people were reduced by their conquerors and masters to an ever more servile status. They became the menial servants in the household and the diggers in the fields. Bit by bit the more unpleasant duties were assigned to them. They were made the sweepers and scavengers of town and village, the flayers of dead animals, and the leather-workers in general. Their masters' abhorrence of the unpleasant tasks may have hardened into contempt of persons forced, and in course of time willing, to perform them. On the other hand, the pariahs, treated as sub-human beings for ages, assumed in some instances what might almost be called a sub-human character, yielding to all the animal instincts in man's nature, losing all sense of human dignity and self-respect under the stifling fatalism of the *Karma* doctrine. Their abject servility and dishonesty, their rude manners and unclean habits rendered them more and more repulsive to their masters. These shunned their company, avoided their quarters, were loath even so much as to touch them or to come within the

reach of their breath. Gradually an impenetrable barrier of rules and practices grew up between the ruling classes and these serfs. In the various parts of India and at different times there were, and still are, many degrees and shades of untouchability. Some are considered simply "untouchable," others "unapproachable," others even "unseeable."

To touch such an outcaste means moral defilement; water and food become impure by his touch or by his very shadow. The "unapproachable" of Southern India—like the lepers of ancient Judea—must warn a Brahmin of his presence, and get out of the way if possible. The very house of the Brahmin becomes unclean at his approach. The high-caste man at his meal, catching the sound of an outcaste's voice, will desist from eating. A pariah's touch or look suffices to desecrate idols and temples. Therefore the shrines and temples of the other Hindus are closed to them, and so are the common burning-*ghats*. Let us hear the evidence of some prominent Indians. G. K. Devadhar, in his Presidential Address at the Indian National Social Conference, 29 December 1933, said :—

> Here, in Southern India, in some parts some roads around certain shrines are barred against these human beings, whereas they are open for dogs and donkeys to tread upon. And I know, as a matter of fact, that when a demand was made to higher authorities to close down some of the roads opened by the municipalities round some temples, the grounds put forth were that they became polluted for the worshippers to cross over them after bath in the tank outside the temple area, on the other side of the road, because the Depressed Classes were allowed to tread upon these roads, while no objection was taken to their being trampled upon by objectionable and dirty animals like donkeys."[1]

The wells and common bathing places are likewise inaccessible to the outcastes. Dr. Ambedkar, the present leader of India's fifty or sixty million Untouchables, reminded his fellow outcastes in his address to the Mahar Conference at Bombay, 31 May 1936, of recent cases of beating by Caste Hindus, just because the outcastes have obtained the right to

[1] D.C., p. 26. *D.C.* stands for : *The Depressed Classes. A Chronological Documentation* Kurseong).

send their children to government schools, to use the public wells. . . .

Beating has also been occasioned by your wearing better clothes and ornaments, and by the use of copper vessels for fetching water [instead of earthenware jars]. There have been, and there still are, instances of beating by Caste Hindus because of the purchase and use of land, because of the failure to remove carcasses of bullocks and cows, and because of declining to eat them ; similarly, because some Untouchables have taken to shoes and sandals, are seen in the open streets, and have failed to salute the Caste Hindus . . . . There are hypocrites who give sugar to ants and refuse water to the dying.[1]

The outcastes are denied every sort of education. Naturally the schools of Caste Hindus are outside their reach ; into the government schools, which are supposed to be open to all, they are hardly admitted, and if they manage to get in, they are treated with such contempt and subjected to such indignities that they have often to stay away for some time or leave the school altogether. Of his own school-days Dr. Ambedkar paints a sad picture :—

You can imagine how much I could learn when I tell you that I had to sit with boys of my community outside the school house. Depressed Classes boys of all standards had to sit together ; no one dared to teach them ; the teacher would simply ask if we had read our lessons. I read in the Satara High School. Here I had to sit on a separate bench. Fain would I have studied Sanskrit, but the Sanskrit teacher would not have me.[2]

Such has been the state of about sixty million Indians—that is, nearly one-fifth of the total population of the country—for many centuries. They did not think of voicing their grievances ; for they knew it was useless and believed it was sinful. They remained the mute suffering victims of tyranny and superstition. But now—to use the words of Mr. R. S. Nekaljay, President of the All-India Depressed Classes Conference at Amraoti, 27 April 1930, " the cry of the dumb millions of this vast continent of India, oppressed socially,

[1] D.C., p. 94. In order to gain religious merit, pious Hindus feed certain animals, like cows, snakes, monkeys, ants. On the other hand, their superstition forbids them to give water to a dying person.

[2] *Apostles*, Sept., 1936, p. 7.

economically, politically, and religiously for centuries, has reached the throne of the Creator of the universe " :—

> We have to express our grateful thanks to Him for bringing into India a nation from those Isles of Liberty and Freedom whose very civilization is built upon the principles of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. . . . . Now that we have a voice, a common platform, let us take the fullest opportunity to denounce, without let or hindrance, the atrocities committed on us in the name of religion. . . . The High-Caste Hindus do not shed blood (of animals), but they kill millions of people slowly, inch by inch, every moment of their lives and then go to the Ganges to take a purification bath, and after the bath they say that they are as pure and innocent as a new-born babe and are fit to go to heaven immediately. . . . In Europe also the strong had oppressed the weak and had enslaved them to servitude. Luckily for the slaves, for the serfs and for the oppressed, the religion of Christ, born in Asia, went over to Europe—instead of to Asia—and levelled down all imaginary and artificial distinctions based on one's birth. In India the Philosophies of *Maya* and *Karma*, evolved by the selfish Brahmans to oppress millions of people, have had full sway . . .[1]

The 'dumb millions' are awakening; they are in a state of volcanic eruption. Their long pent-up indignation is breaking forth in violent denunciations and impassioned protests voiced by their leaders. Who are these leaders, the champions in the present struggle against Untouchability? Some have arisen not only from among the Untouchables, but also from among the recognized Castes. Among the latter are men like Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore.

When Mr. Gandhi, during his life as a lawyer in South Africa (1893-1915), keenly realized the degrading effects of colour prejudice upon the political, social, and economic conditions of his countrymen in those parts, he took up their cause in public and in private with great fervour and personal sacrifices. In various ways he strove to arouse their self-respect and to raise them in the esteem of their neighbours and employers. He organized, led and won—mainly through the support of poor Indian miners—an eight years' campaign of passive resistance for the repeal of the Asiatic Act, which subjected Indians to humiliating restrictions and disabilities; the heavy tax on Indian labourers was abolished. Gandhi

[1] D.C., Appendix B.

had become the poor man's champion and made the poor man's dress his only wear. It was also in South Africa that he studied the practice and the teachings of Christianity in its Protestant form. Henceforth he read many Christian books on religion, was fascinated by the personality of Christ in the Gospels, and found much inspiration in the Sermon on the Mount. Tolstoy's book *The Kingdom of God is Within You* made a deep and lasting impression on him; its idea of "non-violence," blended with the Indian doctrine of *Ahimsa*[1], was to dominate all his thought and action.

In his struggle for a better treatment of the Indian coolies in Africa, Gandhi became painfully conscious of the fact that their brethren at home, the outcastes, who formed nearly one-fifth of Mother India's children, were treated no better by their own countrymen and co-religionists—suffered, in fact, much greater wrongs from them in every respect. The Mahatma realized that a country bearing the stigma of Untouchability could not claim a place of honour among the other nations of the world. In Africa he conceived his campaign for the removal of this dark blot from his country. Though he does not aim at a complete abolition of the caste system, which in his opinion is something inherent in human nature and reduced to a science by Hinduism, he wants the Hindus to take the edge off it by rendering the intercourse between the various castes much easier and more natural, by stopping every sort of oppression, and by refraining from contemptuous treatment of the pariahs. To express and emphasize this new attitude, quite opposed to the traditions of Hinduism, he calls the outcastes by the new name of *Harijans*, "God's own People," which reminds one very much of Christ's Sermon on the Mount and of St. Francis of Assisi.

After his return to India in 1915 Mr. Gandhi established near Ahmedabad his *Ashram*, as a kind of seminary for selected followers, into whom he instilled his principles. He was persuaded by extreme Indian Nationalists that the absolute political independence of India was the surest and quickest remedy for all social evils. This was unfortunate; for the

[1] *Ahimsa* means the attitude of refraining from killing any living thing.

political campaign distracted him from his social work—and moreover Gandhi is no politician. He started his struggle for *Swaraj*. The greatest difficulty to be overcome was the antagonism between the two largest bodies, the Hindus and the Mohammedans. For a short time the Mahatma succeeded in uniting them; but soon they fell out—to Gandhi's great grief. Another effort at a reunion having failed, Gandhi focussed his whole care upon the Hindu community, which forms about seventy per cent. of India's population. Evidently this large block needed much attention; for it showed clear signs of a split, which threatened to weaken its numbers and prestige considerably. The Untouchables, mainly those in the larger towns, began to organize themselves, with the help of some Europeans, in order to take politics into their own hands. Realizing the greatness of the danger, the Mahatma urged the religious and political Hindu leaders to grant the just demands of the Harijans for religious, social and political equality; but they turned a deaf ear to his entreaties. Neither would the Harijan leaders listen when Gandhi asked them to bide their time in patience.

In the winter of 1930-31 the First Indian Round Table Conference discussed all the various problems of the new Constitution for India and laid down its main principles. The Indian National Congress Party, of which Gandhi was the President, was excluded from this Conference. But the Mahatma was chosen to represent his party at the Second Round Table Conference in London in the end of 1931. There the Minorities Committee, formed by members selected from among the responsible leaders of the communities, could not reach any agreement on the complicated question of communal representation. The Congress Party—the chief body of Gandhi's followers—objected strongly to the idea of separate representation of the minorities, to which the Untouchables belonged. Gandhi's grand reception by the enthusiastic Swarajists at Bombay on his return from London was badly marred when the Harijans, in a procession carrying black flags, manifested their dissatisfaction and protested against him with such vehemence that the police had to protect him.

One of the two representatives of the Depressed Classes minority at the Second Round Table Conference was a certain Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, Ph.D., D.Sc. He was born (1893) as an Untouchable, of a Mahar family, but rose in the world owing to his natural ability and, not least, to the liberality of the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, who sent him with a scholarship to carry on his studies at Columbia University, U.S.A., where he graduated. Afterwards he did some research work in London. At the Second Round Table Conference he strongly repudiated Mr. Gandhi's claim to represent general Indian opinion, and he openly expressed his view that the Untouchables regard the Caste Hindu as their implacable enemy.

The Second Round Table Conference having failed to come to any agreement concerning the representation, in the future Constitution, of the different Indian communities, especially the minorities, the task of solving the tangle was entrusted to the Prime Minister, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald. He, presumably on the advice of the India Office, drew up the so-called Communal Award. This provided that India should be divided into constituencies, arranged not on a purely territorial basis but in accordance with the racial, religious and social divisions of her peoples. Those members of the Depressed Classes who qualified for the franchise were to be entitled to vote not only in general Hindu constituencies but also in special constituencies for the Depressed Classes, to whom a certain number of separate seats would be reserved. The object was, "while securing to them the spokesmen of their own choice in the Legislatures of the Provinces where they are found in large numbers, at the same time to avoid electoral arrangements which would perpetuate their segregation. . . . The anomaly of giving certain members of the Depressed Classes two votes is abundantly justified by the urgent need of securing that their claims should be effectively expressed and the prospects of improving their actual condition promoted."[1]

Gandhi raised vehement protests against this decision, which foiled his cherished plan of effecting a united Hindu

[1] Explanatory Statement by the Prime Minister, 16 August 1932. D.C., p. 2.

India. From Yerawda Central Prison, Poona, where he was under arrest since January 4, 1932, he wrote to Sir Samuel Hoare and to the Premier, Mr. MacDonald, repeating that the Depressed Classes problem was predominantly moral and religious. Though he had made the cause of the Harijans his own "from his boyhood," he felt obliged in conscience to resist the Communal Award with his life, as he saw in it "the injection of a poison that is calculated to destroy Hinduism and to do no good whatever to the Depressed Classes." His only weapon was to declare "a perpetual fast unto death from food of any kind save water with or without salt and soda." This fast would begin at noon of September 20, 1932, and would cease as soon as the British Government withdrew their scheme of separate communal electorates for the Depressed Classes. Whilst the Government allowed the Mahatma all facilities in Yerawda Jail for discussing the Depressed Classes problem with such persons or deputations as he might wish to see, their attitude to the Communal Award remained unchanged—and Gandhi began his fast. To a press representative he declared that he always had identified himself, so far as possible, with the lowest strata among the Untouchables. ". . . . And I am convinced, if they are ever to rise, it will not be by the reservation of seats; it will be by strenuous work done by Hindu reformers in their midst; and it is because I feel that this separation would have killed all prospect of reform that my whole soul rebelled against it."[1]

Public opinion was very much divided. Gandhi's enemies called him a comedian and a hysteric; his friends stood in awe at the heroic fast and the unselfish sacrifice of India's greatest saint. For six days the Hindu nation lay at the feet of its idol and held its breath, whilst the leaders of the oppressors and of the oppressed were meeting in conference at Bombay and Poona alternately, trying to come to a speedy agreement which would satisfy both camps and save the Mahatma from a premature death. The leading figures were Pandit Madanmohan Malavya for the Caste Hindus and Dr. Ambedkar for

[1] D.C., p. 6.

the Depressed Classes. On September 24, 1932, the fifth day of the fast, they signed the historic POONA PACT.

In this Pact the Depressed Classes renounced separate seats; but out of the seats for the Hindus both in the Provincial and the Central Legislatures there should be seats reserved for them in proportion to their voting strength. Thus in the Central Legislature eighteen per cent.—*i.e.*, 148 of the seats allotted to the general Hindu electorate—should be reserved for the Depressed Classes. "There shall be no disabilities attaching to anyone on the ground of his being a member of the Depressed Classes in regard to any election to local bodies or appointment to the Public Services." Fair representation of the Depressed Classes in these respects is guaranteed. Further, "in every Province, out of the educational grant, an adequate sum shall be earmarked for providing educational facilities for the members of the Depressed Classes." Gandhi approved; all the leaders present in Poona signed the agreement, and a cable was sent to the Prime Minister urging him "to withdraw the decision providing for separate electorates for the Depressed Classes to enable Gandhi to break his fast. . . . India shall now anxiously await your immediate action."[1] On the following day the Conference, reassembled in Bombay, unanimously ratified the Poona Pact and issued the resolution: "Henceforth no one shall be regarded as an Untouchable by reason of his birth, and those who have been so regarded hitherto shall have the same right as the other Hindus in regard to the use of public wells, roads, schools, and other public institutions."[2]

Dr. Ambedkar, leader of the Depressed Classes, thanked Gandhi for having extricated him from a very difficult situation by supporting him and not the extreme Caste Hindus in the discussions preceding the Poona Pact. At the same time he expressed his regret that Gandhi had not shown the same consideration for his point of view at the Second Round Table Conference. When assuring the Conference that the Depressed Classes would be loyal to the Pact, Dr. Ambedkar expressed some apprehension as to whether the entire Hindu

[1] D.C., p. 8. [2] D.C., p. 9.

community would abide by it. He was not convinced that separate electorates would be injurious to national interests, and he did not believe that joint electorates would solve the problem of absorbing the Depressed Classes in the Hindu community. The Hindu attitude concerning Untouchability itself must undergo a radical change.

When the British Government announced their acceptance of the Poona Pact, Gandhi broke his fast (September 26, 1932). Tagore sang a hymn of triumph, all India rejoiced, the whole world congratulated the Mahatma and the other leaders.

There is no doubt that Mr. Gandhi's fast had very remarkable results. Strong forces for the abolition of Untouchability were set in motion; as by a miracle, the great Hindu community was stirred to its depths. Many temples, hitherto closed to the Harijans, were thrown open to every worshipper indiscriminately—even in the strongholds of Hinduism, like Benares and Jagannath. Public wells and roads became accessible to the Untouchables. On numerous occasions the sincere spirit of brotherhood seemed to manifest itself, as when all the classes of a village or town, from the temple Brahmin down to the scavenger, held a common festival dinner. Many members of the Depressed Classes were deeply affected, and at numerous meetings all over India they passed resolutions expressing their loyal devotion to the Mahatma and favouring joint electorates.

The first important step in carrying out the Poona Pact was taken on September 30, 1932, at Bombay, with the inauguration of the All-India Anti-Untouchability League, which later changed its name to 'Harijan-Sevak-Sangha' —*i.e.* 'Society of the Servants of the Untouchables'—and set up its headquarters at Delhi. The objects of this League were :—

(1) Propaganda among all classes of Hindus for the removal of Untouchability and a radical change in the mentality of Caste Hindus.

(2) Constructive work for the educational, economic, and social uplift of the Depressed Classes.

(3) Immediate active steps "to secure as early as practicable that all public wells, *dharmashalas* (rest-houses for travellers), roads, schools, crematoriums, burning-*ghats*, and all public temples be declared open to the Depressed Classes"[1]—peaceful persuasion only to be used towards this end.

The Nawab of Bhopal donated Rs. 5,000, and other prominent Hindus promised Rs. 70,000 for the first and as much for the second year towards the funds of the League. Every member holding any office in the League has to give in writing a pledge "that he will not observe Untouchability in his private or public life," and that he will use every legitimate means to have all public disabilities of the Harijans removed as soon as possible.

On November 1, 1932, the Madras Legislative Council unanimously carried a resolution recommending to the Government the recognition of the growing feeling that all disabilities of the Depressed Classes in regard to social intercourse and common worship at temples should be removed; and six weeks later the Benares Hindu University issued a manifesto in which the professors and students professed their belief that every Hindu, irrespective of caste, should have the right and opportunity of worshipping in any temple.

Thus the anti-untouchability campaign seemed to progress with giant strides. Already some enthusiasts were prophesying the speedy realization of a united Hindu India and its ultimate triumph over British rule. They were disillusioned all too soon. For, alarmed at the rapid growth of the movement, the conservative orthodox Hindus (called "*Sanatanists*," *i.e.*, "Partisans of the Eternal, Unchangeable Religion") began a violent counter-propaganda. In letters to the Mahatma himself and to the press they attacked him as a renegade filled with Christian and Mohammedan ideas. Gandhi, still in jail, retorted by suggesting an Anti-Untouchability Day, on which every Caste Hindu should prove, by deeds of brotherly love towards Harijans, that he was willing to overcome Untouch-

[1] D.C., p. 12.

ability and so do his part in the "mass movement of self-purification" of Hinduism.

About the same time the Third Round Table Conference (17 November till 24 December 1932) agreed to the enfranchisement of ten per cent. of the Depressed Classes in each province.

When the Madras Temple Entry Bill was submitted to the Viceroy, Lord Willingdon, he refused to sanction it on the grounds that, before the general Hindu opinion was ascertained, Government could not decide what attitude to adopt. On the other hand, His Excellency permitted the introduction, in the Central Legislative Assembly, of Mr. Ranga Iyer's Temple Entry Bill, emphasizing the need of its widest circulation for the purpose of eliciting public opinion. This reserved attitude of the Government was in strict keeping with Queen Victoria's proclamation on the transfer of the government of India to the Crown, November 1, 1858: "We do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects on pain of our highest displeasure."[1] The Bill was introduced in the Legislative Assembly on March 24, 1933, but postponed to the Autumn Session.

The Indian peasant--and the overwhelming majority of Indians are peasants—does not care much about politics or the nature of the government, so long as they do not interfere with the essentials of his simple life—food and the practice of his religion. But should either be curtailed or seriously endangered, the meek lamb becomes a raving beast bent upon destroying its prey by wily treachery or by brutal force.

Now the very temples, the sanctuaries of every village, were threatened with defilement and desecration, and that not merely by "the harmless whims of a holy fool like Gandhi," which were not to be taken seriously, nor by a paper like the Poona Pact, a political instrument which did not affect the thousands of Indian country towns and villages; no, the violation of temples was to be effected and sanctioned, made

[1] G. V. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, (1920), p. 729.

universal and permanent, by law. This was a very serious matter which began to rouse the indignation of the Caste Hindus all over India. Feelings on both sides ran higher every day. In numerous meetings and processions the Caste Hindus protested against the proposed Bill and also against the whole Poona Pact, whilst the Harijans under their leaders insisted on their promised rights. Caste people who had taken part in the public dinners and festivals with the pariahs, secretly submitted to the prescribed purification ceremonies. Under the pressure of the *Sanatanists* most of the temples which had been thrown open to all, shut their doors against the Depressed Classes. Regular fights and sieges about temples and wells took place between both parties. The Untouchables had often to seek the protection of the Government against acts of violence.

The stubborn resistance of the Caste Hindus to the removal of Untouchability affected Gandhi deeply. From May 8 to 29, 1933, he undertook an unconditional and irrevocable fast of "purification and prayer" to atone for the greatest sin of Hinduism and to obtain light, strength, and good will for the Caste Hindus. In view of the religious nature and object of the fast, Government had released the Mahatma from Poona Jail. The impression and effect of this fast on the Hindus in general was apparently not very great. Soon Gandhi lost all the sympathies of the orthodox Brahmins of Poona by insisting, in spite of their bitter criticism and violent protests, on the marriage of his son Devadas with a Brahmin girl. This marriage between a lower and a higher, in fact the highest, caste was entirely against the Hindu law and faith. The Poona Brahmins accused the Mahatma of reading the Bible far too much and of fostering Christian tendencies.

On political charges Gandhi was re-arrested on August 1, 1933, and sentenced to one year's simple imprisonment. Sixteen days later he commenced a new fast to induce the Government to set him free so that he might carry on work for the Harijans. Being released on August 23, he started on an All-India tour with the object of making propaganda and collecting funds on behalf of the Untouchables. Meanwhile,

all over India, discussion and agitation for and against Untouchability continued. Pointing out that it was "impracticable and likely to lead to serious disturbance," the Government of India opposed the Temple Entry Bill as a "serious invasion of private rights." Whereupon it was withdrawn by Mr. Ranga Iyer on July 23, 1934.

At long last, on the 10 May 1935, the Poona Pact with the Government Amendment was adopted in the Commons by 152 votes to 35. It is indeed, as the Depressed Classes President Rao Bahadur M.C. Rajah called it, the "Magna Carta of the Depressed Classes community." Through it the pariahs have secured equal political rights with the "pure" Caste Hindus; and in it they have a powerful weapon wherewith to attack the very root of their grievances—ritual impurity.

But Dr. Ambedkar, their leader, and many with him were not satisfied. After all, the social condition of the Depressed Classes was still the same, and would change but very slowly as long as they remained, politically and religiously, within the fold of conservative Hinduism. They had lost the separate constituencies provided for them in the Communal Award; within the Hindu community they now formed a minority—inferior to the other Hindus not only in number and religious status, but also educationally, economically, and physically. It was clear that a long, hard struggle was ahead of them.

Dr. Ambedkar, therefore, decided to force the issue. All India was startled on October 13, 1935, when at the Bombay Presidency Depressed Classes Conference at Yeola, in the presence of 10,000 Harijans, he announced as his new solution of the Harijan problem a complete change of religion: "Choose any religion which gives you equality of status and treatment."[1]

When Gandhi heard the unexpected news he said: "The speech attributed to Dr. Ambedkar seems unbelievable . . .," and he added a wise remark: "A change of faith by him will not serve the cause . . . . . for millions of unsophisticated and illiterate Harijans will not listen to him."[2] But Dr. Ambedkar remained firm in his decision during the violent storm that

[1] D.C., p. 41. [2] D.C., p. 42, f.

broke upon him from all quarters. It came from rigid *Sanatanists*, moderate reform Hindus, the Harijan-Sewak-Sangha, even from the numerous Harijan Conferences, mainly in the North and extreme South of India. The Depressed Classes of the Dekkhan, however, promised allegiance.

At the same time, letters and telegrams of congratulation, and also representatives, were sent to Dr. Ambedkar by various non-Hindu religious bodies. The Mussulmans were especially eager to entice the Depressed Classes within their fold, representing Islam as the most perfect religion of brotherhood in doctrine and practice and holding out to Dr. Ambedkar the prospect of being one of the political leaders of the eighty million Moslems in India. They organized associations and committees to launch an All-India campaign of Mohammedan propaganda among the Depressed Classes. The Buddhists of Calcutta regretted Dr. Ambedkar's intended apostasy; but if he was bent on changing his religion, Buddhism was an ideal faith—very humane and at the same time of Indian origin. Malabar was canvassed by Buddhist missionary monks from Ceylon and by Sikh missionaries from the Punjab, where a strong and steady conversion movement of Harijans to Sikhism had been going on for about fifteen years. On the reception of fifty pariahs from Malabar into the Sikh community, leading orthodox Hindus confessed that they preferred the Untouchables to become Sikhs rather than members of any other religion. Dr. Ambedkar himself expressed his liking for the Sikhs, since they were self-respecting and disapproved of caste distinctions. Among the Depressed Classes of Malabar and other districts a strong movement towards Christianity set in. 250,000 Ezhavas decided to renounce Hinduism.

To bring the issue to a head, about ninety delegates of the Depressed Classes from all India held a conference at Lucknow (22 to 24 May 1936) with the object of considering which creed they would adopt. For, while he did not wish to interfere with any man's conscience, Dr. Ambedkar, whom ill-health prevented from attending the conference, intended to make the conversion a common and simultaneous one. The various creeds of India were invited to expound to the Conference

how they could meet the needs of the Untouchables. On the first day fourteen speakers, representing ten different creeds, were heard with great attention for seven hours. They were yellow-robed Buddhist monks, Moslem Maulvis in long cassocks, retired Civil Service officers, a college president, a wild "John the Baptist" from among the Sikhs, a fat Jain merchant, two Indian Christian clergymen, an Indian Christian lady, an aggressive Arya-Samajist abbot (reformed Hinduism), and some others.

Chandrika Pershad Jigyasu, one of the most influential Depressed Classes leaders, after almost seven hours of speeches, dared to put to the audience, crowded though it was with excitable Mohammedans and Sikhs, the blunt questions: "What did Islam do for us in a thousand years? What did Sikhism do for us? It was after the Christian missionaries had taken the Untouchables into their bosom that others began to take notice of us." Another Depressed Classes delegate stressed the fact that ninety-nine per cent. of the Indian Christians were from among the Untouchables. When a Hindu speaker began to hold forth the promises of his community to the Depressed Classes, he was howled down.

When each religion had had the hour of "free speech" allotted to it, the delegates of the Depressed Classes said they were not in a hurry to make their choice; it was not words but deeds that mattered. Therefore they would watch the various religious bodies and observe the treatment meted out by each to the Untouchables who had joined them; no religion would be considered that did not afford the fullest social and religious equality. At the end the Conference passed some resolutions, of which the most important was:—

> The Conference expresses its full confidence in Dr. Ambedkar and promises him its full support. It declares without reserve that the Depressed Classes must renounce Hinduism. The next All-India Depressed Classes Conference will have to decide definitely which religion they are to embrace. The Conference expresses its dissatisfaction with the Harijan movement launched by Mahatma Gandhi.

The Catholic Hierarchy had not sent any official delegates to this conference. Two Jesuits of the Patna Mission and an Indian priest attended the meetings and in private conversa-

tions presented the Catholic Faith to the leaders, showing them what the Catholic Church had done for the Depressed Classes. The acting President, Mr. R. L. Biswas, deplored the Abyssinian war launched by a Catholic nation and, when it was all over, blessed by the Pope. He also wanted to know why a "reformation" had been necessary in the Catholic Church and why the caste-distinction was maintained among the Catholics of South India.[1] Since the Conference several Fathers of the Patna Mission have had interviews with leaders of sectional Depressed Classes groups.

Some Hindus, with a concern for the Untouchables that was not without the suspicion of self-interest, expressed their "fear" lest the Harijans by changing their religion should lose the political rights granted to them by the Poona Pact, which had increased the number of seats allotted to them precisely on the understanding that they would remain within the Hindu fold. The very object of Gandhi's fast and of the Pact had been to maintain and consolidate the unity of Hinduism. Consequently, those of the Depressed Classes who actually gave up Hinduism could not enjoy the promised representation. Dr. Ambedkar defended the opposite view, but Parliamentary circles of Bombay informed him that he himself could not contest the election under the Poona Pact. Thereupon the Hindu leaders spread the report that he was no longer preparing his community for the elections and that he himself had withdrawn from the contest. Eventually he took up the position that the mere intention of giving up Hinduism as a religion did not deprive him of the political rights guaranteed by the Poona Pact; but he had to concede that, after actual conversion to a non-Hindu religion, those privileges would be forfeited.

[1] Caste is a social distinction as well as a religious one. The Church entered South India centuries before the movement in favour of the Untouchables had begun. Faced with the alternative of either recognizing caste or giving up as useless every attempt at conversion, she very reluctantly permitted the social distinction to continue, but always tried to modify it gradually out of existence. Most of her efforts, however, were frustrated —wholly or in part—by the obstinacy of the higher castes, who threatened her with apostasy and schism. In 1924 the bishops of South India issued an appeal to the Caste Catholics to abandon their ostracism of the lower classes, but without avail. The young Brahmins, in 1933, hailed with enthusiasm a pastoral letter of six South Indian bishops against the caste spirit; but the fact that the same letter caused the apostasy of a considerable number of Catholics shows that prejudice is still strong.

After weeks of discussions Dr. Ambedkar agreed with Dr. B. S. Moonje, President of the Hindu Mahasabha (Great Hindu Council), upon a " formula for the amicable settlement of Dr. Ambedkar's revolt against Hinduism " : the Hindu Mahasabha would not object to the conversion of the Depressed Classes, led by Dr. Ambedkar, to Sikhism, nor to the enjoyment by them of the political rights as provided in the Poona Pact. Dr. Ambedkar's reasons are stated to be the following. Conversion to Islam or Christianity would denationalize the Depressed Classes and increase the danger of Moslem domination or strengthen the British position in India ; on the other hand, if they turn Sikhs, they will remain full Indians with undivided loyalty and will become a strong factor in the cultural and political advancement of the country—Sikhism being a native religion of India and a sort of reformed Hinduism.

The present position is this : it is hard to foreshadow, with any accuracy, what will become of the Depressed Classes in the near future. We must guard against the great mistake of overestimating the extent of the movement. The sixty millions of Untouchables are mostly illiterate, live in out-of-the-way villages, and are consequently difficult to reach and organize. Many may not even have heard of the movement. Yet the movement is there ; large numbers are preparing to leave Hinduism. This is the conviction of many missionaries all over India, and they are hard at work getting ready for the harvest of souls, which has already set in. Though the motives of the would-be converts may be merely social and material uplift, this does not exclude spiritual conversion. Many converts from these pariahs have become model Christians in the past. Blessed are the poor, for theirs is the kingdom of God. The whole body will not turn Catholic, but the movement to-day offers unlimited opportunities for the conversion of small groups—opportunities that may not be repeated. One thing is certain. The great temple of Hinduism, which has stood firm against Christ's true Church for so many centuries, is being destroyed—but not by the Church. The very foundations of Hinduism are crumbling.

GERARD BAADER

IRISH FOOTPRINTS IN ROUEN

BY DR. RICHARD HAYES

OF those French towns and cities holding within their gates relics and memories that link them with Ireland and her history, Rouen is in many ways a typical example. In selecting it as such, I have been influenced by the spell it cast over me when I first visited it more than twenty years ago. Much of its ancient glamour, it is true, has disappeared before the requirements of modern days. But it is still full of marvels of mediaeval beauty and, as one approaches it through the pleasant orchard-land of Normandy, its distant towers and spires glittering in the clear French sunlight bring always the same thrill of delight. And what abiding memories one carries away after wandering about its boulevards and bye-ways—stately cathedral and churches with their jewelled glass and lacework of stone; delicately-carved doorways at every corner of its twisting streets; ruined cloisters here and there; and ancient houses from whose windows citizens watched St. Joan of Arc being borne to the funeral pyre.

The city's associations with Ireland go back to the early Christian period. Its pavements knew those Irish missionaries and wandering scholars who carried the fame of their native land as the school of the West throughout Europe. In the fifth century Saint Patrick was a friend of its bishop, Saint Vitrice, and for a thousand years one of its churches, named after the Irish apostle, has frequently played a notable part in Rouen's religious life. The Eglise Saint Patrice nestles in a quiet corner in the Rue Saint Patrice, where the noise of the city's traffic is but a faint echo. Over its entrance there are interesting sculptures—one representing King Laoghaire's chief druid attempting to kill St. Patrick with a poisoned cup at Tara, the other showing the baptism of Prince Oengus. The interior of the church is distinctive in that it has no communion rail, but the feature for which it is far-famed is its beautiful sixteenth-century windows—the finest in a city renowned for its stained glass and comparable to those of Chartres and

Notre Dame at Paris. The various panels have for their subject certain miracles in St. Patrick's life, and he is shown, too, being led away as a slave. Beneath runs the inscription :—

Ceulx d'Ibernie font un effort contre
la Bretagne ou S. Patrix est pris prison.

In the later mediaeval period the church was a centre for many interesting ceremonies in the picturesque religious life of those days. Mystery plays were performed within its doors, and the year 1374 saw there the foundation of the Confraternity of the Passion on the 17th of March. On every Holy Thursday this body, composed of the most eminent citizens, assembled in the church and formed a solemn procession, which was led through the streets by a group of children carrying the implements of Christ's Passion. At the end of the procession walked twelve poor men, whose feet were washed by members of the Confraternity during the mystery play that followed. This ceremony was an annual feature of Holy Week in the city and continued down to the seventeenth century.[1]

Apart from the Cathedral, the two finest ecclesiastical buildings in Rouen, world-renowned for their architectural beauty, are those named after Saint Maclou and Saint Ouen. Some claim Ireland as the native country of the former—he certainly was baptised by Saint Brendan, whose favourite disciple he became, and he was one of those who sailed with the famous navigator in quest of an unknown land. Saint Ouen is the patron of that church whose unforgettable beauty and grace largely help to confer on Rouen the distinction of being the first of French cities in mediaeval architecture.[2] He was archbishop of the diocese in the seventh century and was bound by many ties of friendship to the Irish Saint Saens (Sidonius). The latter, after coming to Gaul from Ireland, carried on much of his missionary work in the neighbourhood

[1] One of the many other mediaeval ceremonies in Rouen was that known as the *Levée de la Fierté* or the raising of the relics of St. Romain, the city's guardian saint. It took place annually till the time of the Revolution. On every Ascension Day the Cathedral Chapter were privileged to release a prisoner condemned to death—who, after the Messe Rouge was sung, was permitted to carry on his shoulder the shrine containing the relics in a solemn procession through the city. The records, containing the names of the released prisoners, are preserved ; and it is interesting to find that the prisoner liberated for the year 1447 was an Irishman—"*Jean Houcton, de la paroisse de Laughton, en Clindal, diocèse de Dublin.*" [2] The church of Saint Audeon in Dublin was named after him.

of the city, and the village of St. Saens close by it was named after him and holds his memory in reverence. A monastery originally stood on the present site of the church of Saint Ouen, and an interesting record states that in the eleventh century one of its monks, Garnier, a favourite of the archbishop of the day, wrote a stinging satire against Moriuht, an Irish poet who was a friend of the archbishop's predecessor. Another notable ecclesiastical association of Ireland with the Rouen of these early mediaeval days was the exile of St. Laurence O'Toole—the great archbishop died close to the city at Eu, where the church of St. Laurent preserves his name and holds his ashes in a silver shrine.

* * * *

Rouen as the capital of Normandy—a province so often the scene of domestic feuds and of battles with foreign enemies—has had a stormy history. In the early fifteenth century, when France was in a state of anarchy and rent by rival political factions, Henry the Fifth of England seized the opportunity to revive English pretensions to the French crown. Landing on the French coast in the middle of 1418, he had soon in his hands all Normandy except Rouen. He invested that city in August and prosecuted a long siege of twenty weeks, during which its garrison fought bravely against the invader while its citizens suffered the most extreme privations. The English king brought with his army a force of 1,600 Irishmen who, under the command of Thomas Butler, Prior of Kilmainham (*Tomás Bacach*), seem to have distinguished themselves in varied ways during the hostilities. The *Carew MSS.* state :—

During the siege of Rouen, arrived at Harflew the Lord of Kyllmayne in Ireland with a band of sixteen hundred Irishmen armed in mail with darts and skaynes after the manner of their country—all tall, quick and delywer persons, which came and presented themselves before the King, lying still at the siege, of whom they were not only gently entertained, but also, because that the King was informed that the French King and the Duke of Burgoyne would shortly come and either raise the siege or victual or man the town at the north gate, they were appointed to keep the north side of the army, and in especial

the way that cometh from the forest of Lyons; which charge the Lord of Kyllmayne joyfully accepted, and did so their devoir that no men were more praised nor did more damage to their enemies than they did, for surely their quickness and swiftness did more prejudice to their enemies than their barded horses did hurt or damage the nimble Irishmen. Thus was the fair city of Rouen compassed about with enemies.

All the contemporary accounts of the siege stress the part played by Butler's soldiers in the cruelties and lootings of the besieging army. In the *Chronique* of Monstrelet they are described as ill-clothed, entirely undisciplined and armed with strangely-fashioned knives. They had but one shoe and stocking, the other leg being left bare, and those who were mounted rode without a saddle. They spread terror through the countryside, where they "carried off men, women and children on the backs of stolen cows," and sold them as slaves. Another contemporary description of the siege by an Englishman, John Page, who was an eye-witness of the actions from day to day, is the most vivid that has come down to us. It is in verse, and its quaint English tells how Butler's Irish soldiers were, after landing at Harfleur, placed in the post of danger by the English king :—

And then the pryor of Kylmaynam
Was come with yn the mowthe of Sayn.
At Harflete he landed evyn,
With XV hundred fyughtyng men,
Well a-rayde of war wyse,
As the cuntraye hathe the gysse,
Faste he hyed unto the sege.
Then was sayde the Fraynysche Kynge
And the Burgaynys caste hyr entrynge
In the northe syde of oure oste,
For cause there was playne moste.
Our kynge assygnd a yenne
The pryor with hys XV hundred men
To logge hym in that syde,
For to kepe the wayes wyde.[1]

[1] Still another contemporary chronicler, Robert Redman, in his *Vita Henrici Quinti*, tells of the serious damage done to the enemy by the Irishmen with their catapults and javelins. He particularly notes their swiftness of foot and their intense ill-feeling towards the Frenchmen. He, too, states that they were notorious for kidnapping children and selling them as slaves to the English.

Another interesting Irish link with the Rouen of those far-off days was the settling there, a few years before the siege, of young Thomas FitzGerald, fifth Earl of Desmond and grandson of Earl Gerald the Poet. The romantic incident of his losing his way while hunting in Kerry and finding himself at nightfall in one of his clansmen's cottages has passed into Irish legend. He fell in love with the beautiful daughter of the cottager and, when he married her later, his kinsmen and clansmen rose in revolt against him for bringing discredit, by such an alliance, on the name of his great house. Abandoning title and territory, he left Ireland in 1411 and settled with his wife in Rouen. He died two years after the siege, and his funeral was attended by the king of England.[1]

* * * *

In the first decade of the seventeenth century a disastrous event occurred in Ireland, which coloured all her subsequent history. The Irish defeat at Kinsale in 1601 precipitated the downfall of the Gaelic polity and started that exodus which, for more than a hundred years, was to drain the nation of its best blood. Six years after Kinsale the northern chieftains were forced to seek refuge in Spain from the perils that threatened them at home. In the summer of 1607 young Maguire, Lord of Fermanagh, went abroad and at Rouen purchased an armed vessel, which he steered in disguise to the Irish coast. At midnight on the 14th of September, he with Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, and Rory O'Donnell, Earl of Tirconaill, and their kinsmen to the number of a hundred sailed from the shores of Lough Swilly. "A distinguished crew," say the Four Masters, "was that for one ship; for it is certain that the sea never carried and that the winds never wafted, from the Irish shore, individuals more illustrious or noble in genealogy, or more renowned for deeds of valour,

[1] Thomas Moore, it will be remembered, celebrated the romance in a popular song:—

By the Feale's wave benighted,
No star in the skies,
To thy door by Love lighted
I first saw thy eyes.
Some voice whispered o'er me
As the threshold I crossed;
There was ruin before me,
If I loved I was lost.

prowess and high achievements." Labouring under fear of being captured by English vessels and suffering many privations, they were for several weeks buffeted by fierce gales at sea. The hereditary bard of the Maguires, who was on board with his lord, tells that " the only short rest we enjoyed from the angry sea was when Earl O'Neill trailed his golden crucifix, containing a relic of the Cross of the Crucifixion, in the ship's wake." Tempest-tossed for twenty days, they were at last driven towards the mouth of the Seine, where they cast anchor in the harbour of Quilleboeuf. Here they went ashore, and the ladies and children were conveyed in hired boats up the river to Rouen. O'Neill and O'Donnell and seventeen of the gentlemen proceeded to Lisieux to present themselves to the Governor of Normandy, who received them kindly though with a certain reserve. When these, a few days later, joined the ladies at Rouen, they found English intrigue already working against them. A secret agent shadowed them about the streets, while the English ambassador at Paris besought the French king to hand them over to him for transport to England. His Majesty refused to do so and declared that noblemen and gentlemen, who were forced to leave their paternal inheritance because of their faith and the injustice done to them, were not to be molested within his kingdom. The Earls and their friends remained a few days in Rouen, visiting its cathedral and churches and the interesting places in its neighbourhood. Before leaving they bade farewell to the Governor, and many of the gentry of Rouen accompanied them some distance on their way to Brussels, where a royal reception awaited them.

At this same period bands of Irish refugees, gaunt, half-naked and starving, driven from their native land by religious and political persecution, were wandering homeless all over northern France. Their miserable condition was such that in some places they were driven to extremes to obtain food, and they seem to have created terror among the inhabitants, who often fled at their approach. During the sojourn of the Earls at Rouen, there were large numbers of these poor exiles in the woods and waste places of its neighbourhood. The municipal

archives of the city for 1605 state that in June of that year the local council discussed an official order that was issued for sending back to their own country the Irish vagrants of the vicinity. The order does not seem to have been strictly carried out, for two years later the Parlement of the city deliberated on " the considerable number of Irish vagabonds, as many men as women and children, living in the cellars of ruined houses or in the neighbouring woods." It ordered that, within twenty-four hours of the promulgation of its decree, all of them should return to their own country under pain of the men being sent to the galleys and the women horsewhipped without any form of trial. It was added, however, that employment should be given, if possible, to those of them efficient in any calling ; while a further decree, issued in 1609, ordained that the needy should be conveyed after nightfall to the Royal almshouse and that those who were infirm should be sent to the hospital of the Madeleine. But soon afterwards, when it was realised that they were the victims of English tyranny in their native land, they were treated much more kindly.

A generation later another exodus from Ireland took place as a result of the Cromwellian confiscations and proscriptions —entries like the following from the communal records of the Norman capital show the plight of some of the refugees :—

September 1658. Paid to Samuel Finine, David Laroche and William Tragny, priests of the Irish nation, which has been given them in the name of the city on account of their necessitous condition.

October 1658. Paid to Peter Barry, Irish gentleman, on his way through the city, 60 sols ; and to Patrick Colmar, Irish trader, a similar sum.

July 1660. Paid 12 livres to David de La Roche, William Travy and Curbivicus Leman, Irish priests ; and 6 livres to John Magher, religious recollet, also Irish, which sums have been given them for charity in the name of the city to help them to return to their native land and assist them in their need.

Later entry. Paid to James Moore and Patrick O'Connor, Irishmen, who had the misfortune to have their tongues cut by the infidels, the sum of 20 livres.

At this period, when many sought on the continent to acquire the education banned at home, Rouen was one of those places which gave them hospitality and shelter. In the early seventeenth century Dr. Edmund O'Dwyer, Bishop of Limerick,[1] who played a notable part in the stormy Ireland of his day, received his first training in its halls of learning. About the same time Hugh Mac an Bhaird, the illustrious Franciscan writer, was engaged on his patriotic labours in its cathedral and monastic libraries. Some years afterwards Dr. Comerford, Bishop of Waterford, was ordained there, and Edmund O'Reilly, Primate of Armagh, found it a haven in his forced wanderings. Its Irish seminary, too, did effective work in sending back to Ireland well-equipped priests to carry on their missionary labours at home.[2]

In the first decade of seventeenth century, as we have seen, the mournful procession of the Ulster chieftains passed through the streets of Rouen. The last decade was to witness another when James the Second, a fugitive after his defeat at the Boyne, rode through the same city. Its municipal archives describe in detail his arrival :—

> On Thursday, 25th of July 1690, at 9 o'clock in the morning the King of England arrived in this city from Pont-Audemer, where he slept on his journey from Ireland. He entered by the *porte neuve* ; the bourgeoisie under arms, by order of Monseigneur le Marquis de Beuvron, were ranged up along both sides of the streets as far as the church of St. Ouen, where he alighted to hear mass. Subsequently he proceeded, by way of the monks cloister, to dinner in the apartment prepared for him at the mansion of the Abbé of St Ouen. And when passing downstairs His Majesty was saluted by the burghers in their ceremonial robes . . . The keys of the city and four dozen bottles of champagne were presented to him, in accordance with tradition, by the officials of the city . . . And later he left for Versailles, where he was expected.

And when further disasters occurred immediately afterwards at Aughrim and Limerick, a new exodus from Ireland began, swelling the stream that had been continuously flowing towards

[1] See "Adventures of Bishop Edmund O'Dwyer" in STUDIES, March 1933.

[2] In the year 1650 the seminary had for its Rector Father Thomas Fitzsimmons, Doctor of the Sorbonne, who was a native of Drogheda ; later, Father Peter MacQuillan, an Irish Dominican, who had been Professor of Theology and Philosophy at Paris, became sub-Prior at Rouen.

the continent since Kinsale a hundred years previously. These new exiles, who sacrificed everything for the Stuart cause, now abroad suffered much destitution and many hardships, of which we get fitful glimpses in contemporary records. Queen Mary of Modena, the wife of the dethroned king, toiled for their welfare—her beneficent work is seen in extracts like the following from the *Stuart MSS.* :—

Queen Mary to the Archbishop of Rouen.

1699, July 16. St Germain-en-Laye. Expresses her edification and thanks at his providing for the maintenance of three Irish young ladies and his procuring for the bearer (Mr. Crabane) the means of following his vocation for the ecclesiastical life.

Queen Mary to the Prior of St Ouen.

1702, October 11. Thanking him for his charity to Mr Ward and his family and for all his charity to several subjects of the King's person.

Queen Mary to the Archbishop of Rouen.

1704, Feb. 9. Recommending Mr Bourke, an Irish priest, curé of Nauny, for the living of Chasnay.[1]

After the death of King James, his son, the "Old Pretender," interested himself, too, in the welfare of the victims of the Jacobite cause—here is a "Certificate" given by him to one of them :—

That Brian Dermot, an Irish merchant at Rouen, had served the late king during the Irish wars as a foot-captain and that, after the capitulation at Limerick, he left his property and country to follow his said Majesty to France and served there as an officer the whole of the last wars, only quitting the service when the troops reformed at the Peace of Ryswick ; after which he was obliged to take to trade in order to endeavour to maintain himself, while his four brothers, who crossed to France with him, continued to serve as officers and have all died during the present war.

And as an example of many similar cases of distress suffered by illustrious Irish families, that of Lady Catherine MacCarthy

[1] Among the Jacobite refugees that settled in Rouen early in the 18th century was Daniel Murphy, "an Irish gentleman." His daughter, Marie Louise, who was born there in 1737, was the first inmate of the notorious Parc aux Cerfs. Later she married Jacques de Beaufranchet, and their son became a page at the King's court. Entering the army later, he rose to the rank of General. He sided with the Revolution and was in command of the troops round the scaffold at the execution of Louis XVI. He is said to have ordered the drums to beat when Louis tried to address the people.

may be given. She was of the MacFingin branch of her great house, whose chief with his two brothers and two sons-in-law fell at Aughrim, while other relatives subsequently were killed in France. A pension was granted to her in her desolate condition. After some time it was reduced, and she petitions the Archbishop of Rouen to help her :—

Monseigneur,

The Demoiselle Catherine MacCarthy (MacFinnin) represents very humbly to your Grace that, belonging to one of the most illustrious houses of Ireland, she has had a large number of her relatives officers of great distinction, who have given their lives for the Catholic faith and their legitimate King ; and among them her father, who as Colonel was killed at the head of his regiment in the latest battle. Her cousin-german, the Sieur O'Connell, Mareshal de Camp, and several others met the same fate . . . Particularly Lord Moncassell, Commander-in-Chief of the first Irish troops that came to France, who was her cousin-german both by her father's and mother's side . . . These facts your petitioner had the honour to prove to your Grace two years ago by the certificate of Count O'Mahony, when your Grace was pleased to grant her a pension of £150, which Monsieur Petit of his own will reduced to £100—and at which your Grace expressed your displeasure . . . She therefore ventures to hope that your Grace will grant her an increase of her pension, and she will ever pray. . . .

* * * *

Rouen, by its position on the Seine and in the heart of a fertile country, was always a busy centre for home and foreign trade. In mediaeval times especially, when, as its records state, the city was "granted the monopoly of the Irish trade with the exception of one ship a year to Cherbourg," it carried on an important trade with Ireland. One of its chief sources of wealth has been the manufacture of cotton and textile fabrics generally, and in the early part of the eighteenth century this received a strong stimulus from certain events in Ireland. In 1698 and 1699 the English parliament, jealous of the rapid growth of the Irish trade in wool, imposed heavy duties on that commodity and also prohibited the export of manufactured woollen goods from Ireland to places abroad. The industry, as a result, was crippled, and thousands of Irish workers were forced to emigrate. A considerable number

settled in Rouen and, by the middle of the eighteenth century, an Irish colony was established there, which made its home in the neighbourhood of the church of St. Eloi. Their high skill, as well as that of others of their countrymen in different parts of France, so benefited French textile manufactures that these in a short time outrivalled those of England in foreign markets. This influx of skilled Irish workers continued throughout a considerable part of the eighteenth century, and as late as the first years of the nineteenth certain Irishmen are found engaging in the cotton industry at Rouen. Soon after the Insurrection of 1798 one of the proscribed United Irish leaders,[1] William Putnam McCabe, established a mill there in partnership with Philip Long, a Dublin merchant who largely financed Robert Emmet's enterprise and was imprisoned at the time. Napoleon during a visit to Rouen became interested in their scheme, which appealed to him as helping his idea of banning English manufactures, and he advanced 4,000 francs to McCabe as a subsidy. The speculation was successful for a while, but after some years seems to have failed, and Long especially lost heavily as a result.

A few years previously Rouen had been the headquarters of the *Armée d'Angleterre*, the force, under General Kilmaine as Commander-in-Chief, which was intended for the invasion of Ireland.[2] The distinguished Franco-Irish officer resided in the city, where he had many conversations with Wolfe Tone regarding the enterprise on which both had set their hearts.[3]

RICHARD HAYES

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[1] The United Irish leader, Hamilton Rowan, resided for some time in Rouen as a young man. While there he became friendly with another Irish resident of the city, about whom he tells an amusing incident:—

"I also became acquainted with Count O'Rourke, who was suing the Duchess de Cresne for the amount of several of her notes of hand. He was called on to prove what value he had given for them. Among a list of various presents to her, he inserted a phaeton and a pair of poneys, with a separate charge for breaking them to harness. In his *plaidoyer* he called himself O'Rourke, Prince of Breffni &c. &c. The gentleman who defended the Duchess played so successfully on this petition of the Irish prince against the Duchess de Cresne as to raise great mirth in the court, and so exasperated the Count that he started up on the advocates' table and seized the lawyer by the nose. All became confusion, and O'Rourke was committed to prison—from which, however, Louis XVI almost immediately released him."

[2] See the writer's "General Charles Kilmaine" in STUDIES, September 1934.

[3] Several documents bearing on the proposed invasion are in the archives of the city, where there is also a collection of manuscripts in the Irish language.

FATHER ARTHUR VERMEERSCH, S.J.

1858—1936

BY JOSEPH CREUSEN, S.J.
Professor of Moral Theology, Louvain

ON the forenoon of July 12, 1936, just as he was preparing to share in the jubilee of a brother in religion, Father Vermeersch was suddenly carried off by an aneurysmal rupture. In his case the old proverb proved true: "As a man lives, so shall he die." Though broken in health, he showed the same fidelity to prayer and work, the same happy blend of austerity and humanity, the same rigid determination to do the right and hard thing to the end. A few hours before God summoned him, he celebrated Mass and then settled down to the task on which he was engaged, the task of preparing new editions of his numerous works. I have elsewhere attempted to appraise these works, which have made the name of Father Vermeersch a household word in the Catholic world. Here I propose to confine myself mainly to an appreciation of the man rather than of the scholar, to give a brief sketch of a great and original personality.

Born on the 26 August, 1858, at Ertvelde, East Flanders, Father Vermeersch as a child gave no promise of the robust health which was to be his in later years—and which he was mercilessly to tax to its full capacity. On the completion of his secondary education, he took up the study of law, first in the Jesuit College of Namur and then in the University of Louvain. Now grown strong in body and vigorous in mind, he crowned his course at the University with brilliant success. But the legal profession, for which he had prepared himself, was losing its attractions. A call to higher things was making itself felt. He gave the matter long and prudent consideration; and after a private retreat and a well-weighed "election," he decided to enter the Society of Jesus. He was twenty-one years of age and already a *docteur en droit*.

The young Vermeersch went through the usual Jesuit formation of noviceship and studies. During the last five years of it he was resident in Rome, where he studied theology and canon law—winning the doctorate in the latter subject. He then returned to Belgium and was appointed socius to the master of novices, a post which during the next fifteen months gave him every facility to deepen his spiritual life, to learn the art of guiding souls, and to study one particular branch of Church Law. When at the end of 1892 he was sent as professor to the Collegium Maximum of his Order in Louvain, he went admirably well prepared for his new duty.

The new professor at once impressed his pupils by his fine character and his versatile ability; though in the beginning, owing to his personal austerity and the demands he made as professor, the impression created was one of reverence or fear rather than one of affectionate esteem. He was considered something of "fakir," and his course was given the name of "canon à répétition," for he believed in the virtue of frequent repetitions—he, if not his pupils, believed in the adage that "repetition is the mother of knowledge." But his undeniable mastery of his subject, his ever growing prestige, his devotion to his work and his pupils, the kind heart within the somewhat repellent shell—all these gradually won for him more and more esteem and affection.

When in 1918 Father Vermeersch was called to Rome to replace the famous Father Bucceroni in the chair of Moral Theology in the Gregorian University, his departure was deeply regretted by all in Louvain—and indeed throughout the whole of Belgium, where his writings, his conferences to priests, and his public lectures had made him widely known and esteemed. His fame had already preceded him to Rome: he had been called on to assist in revising the drafts of the Code of Canon Law. He was soon made Consultor to several Congregations and to the Commission for the Interpretation of the Code. In Rome students from all parts of the world sat at his feet, and they in due course carried his fame to the ends of the earth. The Universities of Louvain, Milan and Budapest felt it their duty to recognize his services to Catholic scholarship by con-

ferring on him Doctorates in Theology and Law. The Belgian Government also honoured him by investing him with the " Croix d'Officier de l'Ordre de Léopold " and the " Croix de Commandeur de l'Ordre de la Couronne."

In 1934 Father Vermeersch met with a slight motor accident, which seems to have hastened the first symptoms of arterial trouble, and towards the end of the academic year he had to give up his teaching. But his vigorous constitution offered a strong resistance to his increasing ills : periods of weakness were followed by months of activity which, if diminished, were still fruitful. Between July 1934 and July 1936 he wrote several articles and re-edited two volumes of his *Theologia Moralis*. Early in 1936 this unrelenting worker and most edifying religious gave some premonitory signs of his approaching end. But he rallied again and, after a rest of two months, was able to follow common life, answer his correspondence, and work at the revision of his books. Then sudden death, for which he was always ready, closed a remarkable career.

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In the number and variety of his writings, in their richness of ideas and wealth of information, Father Vermeersch was an author of great fecundity and of great erudition. Let us take first his works on Canon Law. He began with an important commentary on the Constitution of Leo XIII *Officiorum et Munerum* (Rome, 1897). His treatise *De Religiosis*, long since out of print, met with real success. Then there is the review *Periodica*, which he founded and wrote almost entirely himself for many years ; it is a rich mine of information. The promulgation of the Code of Canon Law was the occasion of an epitome in one volume, *Summa Novi Iuris*, which he composed in collaboration with one of his former pupils. Between 1918 and 1921 no less than four impressions of this work were published. But as the demand continued, he decided in 1922 to bring out a more elaborate commentary in three volumes, *Epitome Iuris Canonici*, now in its fifth edition.

At Rome, in the offices of the Sacred Congregations, Father

Vermeersch's commentaries were read attentively—and were sometimes awaited with a certain anxiety. His respect for authority was, of course, well known; and no sarcastic or biting criticism ever came from his pen. But he had a fine juridical mind and a rare perspicacity, so that even in the most carefully worded formulas he was quick to detect any inaccuracy of expression or any lack of provision for a difficult case. Moreover, his commentary defined the limits of ordinances and prohibitions with a rigour that rarely left any loophole. No doubt, he was occasionally mistaken. But one has only to compare his solutions with the responses of the Commission of Interpretation to see that they were generally in complete accord. The same cannot be said of other canonists—not even of Consultors to the Sacred Congregations.

In Moral Theology Father Vermeersch exercised, as professor in Louvain and later in the Gregorian University, a wide influence. His fine textbook bears witness to great broad-mindedness, vast erudition, and an unusual knowledge of modern questions. He had the courage to leave the beaten track—to break away boldly from purely casuistical methods, artificial divisions and routine solutions. In certain treatises—for example, *De Iustitia* and *De Castitate*—he was really a master. Although he held in high esteem the great theologians of the past—St. Thomas, St. Alphonsus, Lugo, Lessius, Molina, Suarez—he never hesitated to disagree with them when their opinion appeared to him to be insufficiently proved. At first very modest in expressing an opinion, he quickly acquired the habit of taking a firm stand in the most difficult problems—and especially in the most burning questions of the hour. For instance, it is said that he allowed the lawfulness of hunger-strike in the famous case of Mayor Terence MacSwiney to be treated and defended as a probable opinion in his Moral Seminar. Being a strong democrat and a citizen of a Small Nation, he naturally took a keen interest in the struggle of Small Nations—and especially of Catholic Ireland, which has so many links with Catholic Belgium—to maintain or secure their independence.

The social question is often a moral question. As a moral

theologian Father Vermeersch had the rare distinction of being extremely well versed in economic and social questions. As long ago as 1898 he wrote for the *Revue sociale catholique* an article on *Justice légale*, in which he defended the identity of legal and social justice—a thesis never abandoned by him. Two years later appeared his *Manuel social*, which was practically doubled in size in the second edition of 1904. For this work he was awarded, in 1908, the " prix quinquennal des sciences sociales." Then, with the collaboration of Father Muller, S.J., he brought out a third edition, completely revised and in two volumes, in 1909.

This work and his *Quaestiones de Iustitia* (1901) alone would have amply sufficed to secure for their author an honourable place among Belgian sociologists. But to the end of his life Father Vermeersch did not cease to take a deep interest in all aspects of the social question. He wrote numerous articles and actively collaborated with various social organisations : the Société d'économie politique of Brussels, the Action populaire of Paris, the Semaines sociales of France, the Comité d'études morales et sociales of Malines . . . He had accepted the invitation to attend the Semaine sociale de Versailles (July, 1936), where his presence and co-operation in debate would have been much appreciated ; but death intervened. Finally, reference should be made to his controversy in 1929 with certain Viennese Catholic publicists on the right of property—and also to his commentary (1931) on the Encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*.

As a spiritual writer Father Vermeersch appealed to another and wider public. Besides the four editions in French, his *Méditations sur la Sainte Vierge* has been translated into five languages—amongst them English. He has written much on the Devotion of the Sacred Heart. The " great promise " and the proper object of this Devotion were subjects specially studied by him (*cf. Etudes*, t. 95 and t. 106). All these works were preparatory to his great synthesis, *Pratique et doctrine de la dévotion au Sacré-Coeur à l'usage du clergé et des fidèles*, of which seven editions in French and five editions in foreign languages (English being one) have appeared. During 1918

Father Vermeersch published two tiny volumes: *La prière du prêtre*, simple counsels of perfection, and *Livre de prières national*, a war-time work inspired by his patriotism and piety.

Those who wish to get some idea of Father Vermeersch's fecundity as a writer, have only to glance through the thirty pages of bibliography inserted at the end of the second volume of *Miscellanea Vermeersch* (Rome, 1935). The variety of his writings was the occasion of a good story. At a dinner in his honour before his departure for Rome in 1918, all his writings were neatly arranged on a large table in the centre of the refectory. Father Thirion, well known as a master of witty toasts, solemnly arose and addressed the community thus: "Let each of you, when you return to your rooms, take a sheet of paper and sign the following declaration: 'I testify that the Rev. Father Arthur Vermeersch who wrote *Méditations sur la Sainte Vierge* is the same Father Vermeersch who wrote *De Religiosis* and *Periodica*; the same Vermeersch who wrote a report on *Exercices physiques dans les collèges* and a treatise on *Iustitia*, a book on *La Tolérance* and a pamphlet on *La Prière du Prêtre*, etc., etc. Otherwise, in two or three centuries, historians who look through his works will conclude that, in the second half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, there were three or four Arthur Vermeerschs in the Belgian Province of the Society of Jesus—all of them prolific writers on completely different subjects.'"

* * * *

If one asks how Father Vermeersch had been able to achieve so much, one must seek the answer in his deep virtue and his exceptional gifts. It was his zeal for souls which made him a miser of time and a prodigal of work. Thus, he has been known to read his correspondence while dictating certain texts to his class. Animated by the most unselfish motives, he was entirely free from all personal ambition and from all thought of his own comfort. Despite a certain quickness or haste of movement—a natural consequence of his passion to save time—he always maintained a rare self-mastery. If

interrupted in his literary labours by some visitor seeking his advice—a very common occurrence—he could resume work immediately on the departure of the interrupter. His memory was excellent and his intellect keen, while his robust health enabled him to shoulder a burden of work beyond the capacity of most men. He indulged in no useless reading; in fact so eager was he to produce that he erred rather on the side of reading too little. But whatever he learnt from books, conversation or consultation was at once stored away for future use—stored in his capacious memory or in a note-book. An enormous amount of time may be swallowed up in research work; for such work he made use of his pupils, his friends and his colleagues. The labour of reviewing books did not appeal to him; for it obliged him—at least so he thought—to lose time; and if he gave the task to another, he did not wish much time to be spent on it. For instance, one day he knocked at the door of one of his pupils and handed him a book. "Quick, quick," said Father Vermeersch, "please write me a review of this book." "Yes, yes; but will you allow me to read it," was the mischievous reply.

All through his life Father Vermeersch's great enemy was time. His boundless energy saw the enormous possibilities of time, which he husbanded and exploited as few men have done. Whilst preparing his work *La Tolérance*, he found it necessary to consult some books in the British Museum. Accordingly he went over to London, worked three days from morning to night in the Museum Library, filled thirty pages of notes, and then returned by the night boat. On arriving at Antwerp, he celebrated Mass and then telegraphed that he was *en route*, but might be some five minutes late for his lecture. However, thanks to a swift taxi, he was seen mounting the professorial chair at the usual hour—surprised that some students were not yet in their places. Here is another example of rigid time-saving. Every year, on the feast of the Ascension, he made with the students of the University the night pilgrimage to the shrine of Our Lady of Montaigu. Starting about 9 o'clock in the evening, the pilgrims arrived at the shrine about 2 o'clock in the morning. Father Vermeersch

then celebrated Mass and distributed Communion to the numerous pilgrims. Back at his desk at five o'clock in the morning, he started work immediately and continued it all day. One final example. On the 27 August 1914, Father Vermeersch, with several brother religious and professors of the University of Louvain, was arrested at Tervueren (eight miles west of Louvain) by a detachment of German troops, who had been very much excited against priests by malicious calumnies. An eyewitness relates to us that at a given moment, persuaded that the Germans intended to shoot some of the religious to satisfy the vengeance of the soldiers, Father Vermeersch and another Father offered themselves to be shot in the place of the others. The offer was not accepted; but a scholastic was executed. A little later, whilst in the police station awaiting his fate and that of the other prisoners, Father Vermeersch pulled out of his pocket the proofs of some work he was preparing for publication and began quietly to correct them. *Ruat coelum*, but time must not be lost !

* * * *

In the memory left by Father Vermeersch it is to be remarked that his sanctity occupies as large if not a larger place than his wide learning and phenomenal energy. One can understand this in the case of those who have known him through his spiritual writings or as a director of retreats to priests and nuns. It is still more true in the case of those who have lived with him and have known him intimately. No one could have failed to notice his solid piety. For many years he rose half-an-hour earlier than the rest—*i.e.*, at 3.30—in order to add to his daily prayer without in any way curtailing his work. His reverence and devotion during Mass were most edifying. It was his custom, as far as possible, to recite the Divine Office before the Blessed Sacrament. On walks or excursions—rare events in his life—he would quite simply propose to his companions to recite three rosaries in honour of the Blessed Virgin. During the day he would frequently interrupt his work to make hurried visits to the Blessed Sacrament, always banging the chapel door after him.

It was in vain that the Father Minister put on this door the notice : " Please shut gently." Father Vermeersch never suspected that he was the culprit. It takes time to close a door gently, and he had no time for such niceties.

Besides the fasts prescribed by the Church, Father Vermeersch fasted every Saturday in honour of the Blessed Virgin. That meant that he took no more than two ounces of solid food from 3.30 to dinner at noon, and yet during these long hours he worked at the highest pressure. Such mortification is heroic. But it did not satisfy Father Vermeersch ; he added to it in other ways—by chains and discipline. Life is short, and he meant to crowd as much as possible into it. However, in all his rigid austerity there was nothing offensive, nothing repellent, nothing of the fakir (though in jest he was dubbed a " fakir ") ; he remained profoundly human and lovable. If you felt unable to imitate him, you could not withhold your admiration. " Courage and confidence " was one of his favourite formulas in the confessional and in letters of spiritual direction. He certainly lived up to that formula.

On a journey or an excursion Father Vermeersch was an excellent companion because of his interesting conversation and his solicitude for the comfort of others. Nevertheless he lost no time in admiring the beauties of nature or of art. " Now you see that Venice can be visited in two days," he said to a companion whom he had rushed round that marvellous city in forty-eight hours ; that companion must have often heard the words so frequently on the lips of the great hustler : " Quick, quick." Another companion, enraptured before the Moses of Michael Angelo, had his contemplation—after three minutes—suddenly interrupted by the remark : " Well, you have seen it. What do you think of it ? "

But Father Vermeersch, though so avaricious of time, could be also prodigal of it. No one in need, physical or moral, ever appealed to him in vain. On such occasions he was the most patient and sympathetic of listeners, and he did not limit his assistance to mere words of encouragement or advice. He was always ready to spend himself and his time in bringing relief. If he had a tough body capable of enduring

great hardship and a tough brain capable of bearing unusual strain, he really had a soft and kindly heart. Once and often twice a day for over a year he visited one of his sick pupils. Every night he went to see that nothing was wanting, that everything was in order. And when the final agony approached, he installed himself at the bedside of the dying patient, to comfort him by his continual presence. For one so hard on himself, his solicitude for the sick was remarkable. Whether the sick person was in the house infirmary or in some hospital in the town, Father Vermeersch allowed no work, however pressing, to interfere with his daily visit.

This is an attractive trait in one who had many of the characteristics of an American hustler, and Father Vermeersch had many attractive traits in his character. They explain why the scholar, the professor, the writer, the ascetic—besides general esteem among men—won the genuine affection of a host of friends. In the hearts of these friends he has left a lasting memory. There are many who, when they wish to know their duty, will ask themselves : " What would Father Vermeersch have advised ? " And when they seek to be faithful to their duty, they will find strength in the question : " How would Father Vermeersch have acted ? " Father Vermeersch never preached what he did not act and live ; and this is the highest tribute that can be paid to him.

J. Creusen

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY REV. LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J.

XLIII

CHRIST'S GRACE

TAOIS ÓS Ó DÁLAIS CCT.

1. Ní cluain ġabála Ġrád Dé
ṙġéal hé ar ar niomda finné
fada ag fár uaid a fiorta
a Ġrád 'n-a cluain coigealta.

2. Ar fal féin ní facar dam
Dé na ngrád Ġur Ġab adnad
Ġual a dearġta i láim leanaiḃ
ceardca an Ġráid Ġur Ġoirdeadair.

3. Dioḃ tig ar mbuain a bádad
braoin corcra cóig bṙiomálad
fárraid toirċe Ġrád le a Ġuin
na foicne ag fár le fearċuin.

4. Cóir a cnead cuirrid i dṙad
cóir diot re déanam carad
téid liodra ón óig im aincion
iomda cóir nac criocnaiġtior.

5. Ar mbreit i dtir táinig di
tonn Ġráid do Ġluair ón cride
tonn fam luing d'fuil an octa
do muid do druim daonnocta.

6. Or [a] cionn do-connaic roin
beirt ler ceannaiġ clann Adam
mó ar doiliġ do-cí ar Ġcoimde
ri d'oiġid a éanoirde.

7. Ní hé an céidcion bud cár linn
lá an báir do beit 'n-ar n-oircill
cion m'aitread ní hé ar oman
act mé i n-aincean d'atoġad.

8. Cá mó ionghnaḋ o'fhiorr a ċneaḋ
fíoċ ċáiġ narr ċuir [ag] fíneaḋ
ceilt ar fár oirn-ne o'fhaltaiḃ
ghár t'oiḋche ir dá ionganntaiḃ.

9. Sioċ o'fhaġáil gin guirḃ fiu finn
fear mar ċáċ chéaḋ naċ fuigḃinn
fhíoċ fíoċ t'oiḋche ler n-aitrib
fíon oirn-ne ná hathraigṫir.

10. Leo ġaol naċ gaḃtar do fhéaḋ
ní tú ar ciontaċ fer gcuirfeaḋ
finn gan dáil gcoḃra ór gceanaiḃ
comla an ḃáiḋ gur ḃuaileaḃair.

11. A mharraiḋ dámaḋ eol dam
aitnim naċ í do ḋiultfaḋ
gibé do-ní an ċneaḋ chroiḋe
ní bí bean naċ bhéagfoiḋe.

12. Fuigheall áir do b'ainm dá fhliocht
dá ċloinn gur ċeannaiġ oiḋhioċt
ar gan fál acht dot oiḋche
lám do ċur far gcoḃoir-ne.

13. Téid ón uaiġ o'éir a ġonta
lá Cárġ ar ċreiċ ndaonnoċta
fód feilbe ar féiḋiugaḋ fiom
éinfhiuḃal o'eiḋche i n-Ifrionn.

14. Dá leana an lá bur doilġe
fearġ mall mic ar feaḃoir-ne
móide ar oman an fearġ mall
a fearġ naċ oġar ionnam.

15. Ní dul ar do fóḃair di
dé an ḃáiḋ do beaṫaiġ Muire
ghíor oiniġ na dtrí dtaman
d'oiḋir do bí ar beaṫuġaḋ.

16. Clann naċ umal dá n-aṫair
a gcaomna ir cúir [anfaċair]
ó ghrár do ċaraḃair ċloinn
'r ar fár d'anfalaiḋ oruinn.

17. Ní fóirfead éinbeart eile
ach Guin Dé ar ndíoc foirnei-ne
ar dtréid-ne gan teacht ir-teag
beart na héigne gur himfead.

18. Ón tig i dtéid gach duine
mé ar gcúl créad fa ndiultfuidhe
an fhaoile 'r a dtiobhra ir-teach
go ndiongna aoidhe d'eiteach.

19. Síoch uaibh a airdhí nimhe
tug tú do choil maigdine
buain fan fíoch ir doilig dit
nach fríoch gan oigidh t'éinmhic.

20. Álaidh ag anacal cáig
mimic fuair fear an eadráin
táinig fidh cách do chabair
do gnáth fir an anagail.

21. Sleag do chur fan gcíoch ndear-fa
nir ioc mé a luach leigeara
tug an chíoch far féidig fuinn
díol i n-ar éirig eadruinn.

22. Géidh iomdha ar oidhre Muire
créacht fa bhuidh cóir eolchuire
ní cár Guin [acht] goin troigtead
Guin roin ó nach fiodhloigtear.

23. Goin fíog d'agra acht ar urraidh
ní ba éidir eadamair
'r gan díol daoidh ó Ádhamh inn
fa álaidh taoidh ní téigim.

24. Dá dtíorad dhíom dola ir-teach
tú a Dé ní dhiongna ar n-eiteach
fadh gan tóir ar teag gcuiread
ar fead n-óil nach iadhfuidhear.

25. Ar a ceann do-chuaidh i bhfad
creach tug ó tig a náimhdh
géill díodhbadh ar láimh leanaidh
cóir iongnadh fna haoidheadhaibh.

26. Gémad oirċeas d'fior mo gníom
A diultad ó dún airdríog
Fséal naoide ar cneid an chride
Aoide im fleid nach léigfide.

27. Ar n-éasa ní hoirċior duit
Clód gaoil ní geall re héaduic
Fear a luit do fóir t'oidhe
Ní cóir duit ar n-éaradh-ne.

28. Ní héidir d'iomad a cneadh
Nach cúir diomda fa deireadh
Daoghal t'fearg fa cneid croidhe
An dealg leid 'r go leanfoidhe.

29. Ón tig tall tig dar gcuireadh
Ceann fluaig na fé fochuideadh
Trom an t-oire ar leanadh do luig
Beann an chroidhe gur chaitaig.

30. A mhe dámad áil linn
Fleadh fíog do-finne im oirċill
Cóir fúil re fear na fleidhe
Do dean dúin 'r ar ndaoinige.

31. D'éir ar gceannaig ar chú an taoid
Ní cearo duit déanamh míoghaoil
Leig feirg mad áil it falaid
Fearg dud báid leo diodhbadaid.

32. Créacht ler cuir a clú eimig
Fleag corcra i gcíc óigleimid
Fód feilbe i mbeannaid do dean
T'eidhe ar fealdaid a finnfear.

33. Le fuil gcioc do ciunaig foin
Fion cogaid cloinne hAdhaimh
Álad croinn i gcíog t'oidir
An trian i gcoill ciunaigid.

34. Mac fíog le fogha fainnre
Tug cuairt 'n-a clí ndíogainn-re
Do b'fiu an cloinn do-róine fuid
Gan coill d'óige dá hathair.

35. Ar mbeit a-muig nir mian lair
crann an cig ar gcraob eolair
nir nacrad các ó cride
gér gnát accar ainbrine.

Ni.

Translation

1. No appropriated field is God's grace—we have many a proof of this; for long have His favours been growing on His grace, a scarce-used field.

2. Our filth we saw not till the fire of grace flamed up; a child held the fuel to enkindle the furnace of love and so you heated it.

3. The red drops of the five wounds save us from drowning; the fruits of grace grow beneath His blood as corn-grass growing 'neath rain.

4. He will delay His demand for the debt due to His wounds; to get a friend one must make a sacrifice; the Virgin makes my guilt grow small; many a debt is never exacted.

5. The wave of grace from His heart brings me to shore, the wave of His breast-blood which broke over the human race bearing my bark along.

6. The burden 'neath which He bent when redeeming Adam's race he saw impending: hard indeed did He find our salvation, meaning as it did His Son's death.

7. What should trouble me is not lest Adam's sin be brought against me at death; I need not fear my ancestors' sin but rather my own dwelling in sin.

8. How marvellous that, wounded as Christ was, He did not delay in pardoning the world; a wondrous work of Thy Son's love was to forget all the sins that had grown on us.

9. Though none of us deserve pardon, why should not I get it like anyone else? Thy Son's peace was given our fathers; may the weather not change for us!

10. If we, Thy race, are not sharing Thy Banquet 'tis not through fault of Thine in the matter of inviting us; our sins had left us without hope of help till Thou didst knock at the door of love.

11. Had I thought to appeal to her—I mean the heart-wound—I know full well that she, whatever she might do, could not resist the appeal; no woman could.

12. "Survivors of a slaughter" was His race truly called till He won back its inheritance for it; we were an unfenced field had not Thy Son set His hand to our salvation.

13. After His wounding He arose on Easter-day from the grave to seize His booty, the human race. Thy Son's single raid on Hell meant peace with us, and then (that we might have) a country of our own.

14. If on the Day of Dread the smouldering anger of our sister's son persists it will be the more terrible for finding naught in us to appease it.

15. He never sought to quench the flame of love which Mary kept alive; the love-flame of the Triple Stock for the Son was ever alive.

16. The saving of Thy children so disobedient to their Father brought disaster on Thee, yet in Thy mercy Thou didst love us spite of the great guilt upon us.

17. Nothing else but the wounding of God could have made good the heavy losses in our ranks; our flock could not enter Heaven till violence was used.

18. Why need I be kept out from the house wherein all men are entering? dost Thou think to keep out one guest seeing the crowd Thou lettest in?

19. O King of Heaven, for the love of a Virgin Thou didst make peace; yet it cost Thee dear to make such a peace which we could get only by Thy only Son's death.

20. Many the peacemaker who was wounded when saving another man; Thou didst save the world—but at the cost which the peacemaker pays.

21. I have not paid the price of curing the spear-thrust in His right breast; yet that breast made Him gentle with me and settled the quarrel between us.

22. Though many the piteous wound on Mary's Son, the worst was the wound in His feet; this wound checks all movement.

23. Only a freeman could be charged for a wound inflicted on a king; as Adam never requited Thee for the wound in Thy side, I (having thus lost my freeman's rights) can not be charged with it.

24. O God, Thou wilt not reject me if I can make my way to Thy hall; 'twere foolish for a crowd not to storm a guest-hall left open during a feast.

25. The booty He got from His foes' castle—He had to travel far for it; His guests will see with wonder the hostages taken from His foes and guarded by a Child.

26. Though 'twere fit that a sinner like me be excluded from the Palace, 'twould be an unheard of thing for Christ's breast-wound that any guest should be kept out from the feast.

27. To reject us befits Thee not; to disown one's kin is not as good as to pay *éiric* for them (?); Thy Son saved the man who pierced Him; (therefore) Thou must not reject me.

28. His many wounds must needs at length rouse His wrath; though Thou mayst demand redress for the nail, I dread Thy anger at Thy heart-wound.

29. The Captain of the Six Hosts comes from Heaven to invite us thither; heavy was the burden that lay on the Child and pressed Him to the crushing of His heart.

30. If we wish to quaff the King's wine-feast prepared for us we must place our trust in Him who gives it; it has been given us without regard to our numbers.

31. After buying us with Thy side-wound Thou shouldst do a kinsman's duty by us; let Thy anger cool; only Thy foes like to see it flaming.

32. The red spear in the Youth's breast was the one by which He proved His glorious generosity; standing in the danger-gap, Thy Son seized possession of land in His ancestors' country.

33. By His breast-blood He stilled the war-storm of Adam's race; the spear-wound in Thy Son's breast calmed the storm in the forest.

34. At the great Annunciation to Mary the King's Son entered her steadfast bosom: her virginity left intact by her Father merited the Child she bore to Thee.

35. God wished not us to be kept out of His heart; the spear in His breast points the way in for us; no man was excluded from it, though men have ever wished to keep a foe at a distance.

NOTES

MS.: 23 D 14 p. 85. Any MS. reading of the least importance, if departed from, is noted below.

6*a* ór cionn *b* leg. beaṁc? 7*d* áitiogaḋ 8*b* a 9*b* naċ ḃṙ. 13*d* leg. c'eiṫe? 14*d* ṙoẋċaṙ 16*b* anaċain; leg. o'anaċain? 17*b* ṙóiṁneno 21*a* ċíoċ 22*c* aṙaṙ (?) 24*d* -ṫiṁ 32 *c* mbeaṁn- 34 *d* tóiẋe

A SOJOURN IN IRAQ

BY MILES PEREGRINUS

HAVING, on one occasion, run afoul of the Iraqi Government with some perfectly innocent remarks, I feel it advisable to shroud my identity under the protective covering of a pseudonym. Not that I have any sensational revelations to make which might involve me in serious difficulties with that Government. But my former experience has taught me that you never can tell what deep, dark meaning may be read into your simplest words, and since I have some unfinished business to attend to before quitting this land of the desert and should like to be able to work at it without unnecessary interruption, I think it politic both for my own and for my friends' sake not to flaunt my identity.

I

Up to fifteen years ago, travelling to Baghdad meant a journey of several weeks by caravan across the Syrian Desert. Such a journey was long, arduous, and not infrequently dangerous. Now you can go by bus in twenty-four hours. The present customary route is by way of Damascus, which lies some 500 miles across the desert almost due west of Baghdad. If you cross this arid waste in summer, one of the first things that strikes you is the terrific heat. The metal parts of the bus become so hot that it is impossible to touch them, and a change of tyres can be accomplished only with the aid of heavy leather gloves. If you are so unfortunate as to be travelling in a car not designed for the purpose, the all-covering dust will be another thing that you will not soon forget. You will find traces of it afterwards even in the interior of your luggage. Your journey will come to an end on the edge of the desert at Baghdad's airport, which is almost as modern as you could wish. Here meet airplanes from Egypt, England, France and Holland—these last three each maintaining a

twice-weekly service between Europe and the Far East. If, on stepping out of the bus at Baghdad, you had hoped to see something fresh from the pages of the *Arabian Nights*, the airport will be your first disappointment. Even the customs officials are in smart western uniforms and speak to you in fluent English. If my own experience is any criterion, the courtesy and ease with which they will dismiss the matter of your luggage will be in striking contrast with what you have experienced elsewhere, and you may recall that the Orient is famed for its elaborate politeness.

Arab historians say that Baghdad in its heyday was a city of some two million souls. With oriental exuberance they describe it as a pearl set in a veritable garden of paradise, rivalled in magnificence and splendour by no other city of its time, famous for its learning as well as for its luxury, frequented by scholars from far and wide. To-day Baghdad is but a skeleton of its former self. True, as you approach it from a distance after a long monotonous ride, it persents a pleasing spectacle as it rises out of the desert with its domes and minarets. But, as someone has said, all Oriental cities are pleasing to the senses from afar. Modern Baghdad sprawls astride the Tigris, a labyrinth of crazy, crooked, narrow streets, with only one real thoroughfare permitting you to travel the two miles from one end of the town to the other. Its flat-roofed houses, built of yellow brick which age soon robs of colour, huddle closely one against the other, and the projecting balconies above almost meet one another at times across the narrow streets. Many of the windows are latticed, all are barred, and the single entrance to the house leads to the traditional open court, on which all the rooms open. All this may strike the stranger at first as picturesque and exotic; but soon he sees the city for what it really is in itself, drab and uninteresting, without a single building of any commanding excellence. Within the city proper there is scarcely a blade of grass or a single tree to be seen.

The main street, a swath some forty feet wide cut ruthlessly during the World War to serve military needs, does little honour to Haroun al Rashid, after whom it is named. True,

it is paved with bitumen, but it is entirely too narrow to satisfy the needs of a city of 300,000. During the busy hours of the day it is a honking bedlam of motor cars and horse-drawn carriages. It has lost all traces of Oriental character, and its succession of small nondescript shops huddled one against the other is anything but imposing. The narrow pavements, at times but three feet wide, are crowded with men, women, and children in every variety of dress and headgear, both Oriental and European. Bedouins in their distinctive desert costume and headdress; Kurds with voluminous and colourful trousers and turbans; Jews who still cling to the obsolescent fez; town Arabs in the traditional flowing robes; women, veiled and unveiled, in the customary long black mantle; clerks, officials, and the upper classes in the latest styles from Bond Street; and schoolboys in the obligatory western uniform, but with the national cap or *sidara*, evolved from the wartime trench cap. There are Moslems, Jews, and Christians; Arabs, Turks, Kurds, Persians, Chaldeans, Syrians, Armenians, and Indians; and the babel of tongues reminds you that this was the land where God confounded those who would build the Tower.

But if the town is something of a disappointment to the reader of *Arabian Nights*, it is far superior to what it was before the War under the Turks. There was not a foot of metalled road, and the streets were deep with dust in summer and with mud in winter, when coolies carried one across for a price. Though there is no drainage system for the city as a whole, there is a piped water supply from the Tigris. A new power station supplies the town with electricity; dial telephones are supplanting the old; and a bus service, though inadequate, furnishes quick and cheap transportation. There is a motorized fire-brigade and a motorized street-sprinkling service. The present mayor of the town, Arshad Beg al Umari, whom I had the pleasure of meeting, is a man of energy extraordinary in the East, and he is tireless in his efforts to restore Baghdad to something of its former glory. He is spending the summer touring the Near East and Europe in quest of new ideas for improving the capital. Should one be inclined to belittle the

results of his efforts thus far, one need only hear the older residents tell of the good old days under the Turks, when Baghdad's only advance over the previous centuries was the installation of a telegraph line—whose purpose, one may surmise, was to keep Constantinople informed of any subversive movements in the Province.

English is spoken almost universally in the shops along Rashid Street, and one can find for sale there almost everything that the western world has devised to cater for man's wants and comforts, whether it be the latest thing in radios, a complete bathroom done in Nile green, or an electric refrigerator. In the covered bazaars, which wind their way crazily through the interior of the city, one will find native products and manufactures, as well as an endless miscellany of Japanese wares. Here the Oriental atmosphere is still preserved, for both displays and people are colourful, the haggling is interminable, and you buy at the risk of paying five times what the article is worth. Few of the objects offered for sale are of any artistic merit; for arts and crafts throughout Iraq, with but few exceptions, are at a low ebb and are inferior to those of Cairo and Damascus, especially in the matter of wood and metal work. Only the Sabaeans, non-Moslems who claim spiritual descent from John the Baptist, do really fine work, and that is all in silver. Their claim, incidentally, is spurious.

The original Baghdad, the famous Round City of Haroun with walls ninety feet high, of which no trace is left, lay on the west bank of the Tigris. It has been superseded by the city on the east bank. The river is spanned by two pontoon-bridges, but preliminary work has been begun on two permanent bridges to replace them. The honour of having the first permanent bridge over the Tigris in all history goes, however, to Mosul, which erected a modern steel structure 1,300 feet long in 1934.

Of late years there has been a movement towards the outskirts of the city, and several new residential sections have sprung up where before was the open desert. Impetus to this movement was given by the newly metalled roads leading out of the city north and south, by the desire of the better educated

for more hygienic living conditions, by the increased security afforded by an alert and efficient police, and finally by the easy access to town furnished by the motor car. That western ideas have taken firm root here is shown by the fact that the new houses abandon the open-court style and adopt the mode introduced by the British.

Another good reason for fleeing from the city and seeking the open spaces, where one may spread out and have trees and a garden, is the terrific heat of Baghdad. It is undoubtedly the hottest capital on the globe. Quite by chance I came upon an atlas recently which coloured the map of the world to indicate extremes of temperature. There in the heart of Iraq was a deep purple spot. Looking up the legend to see what it meant, I found that it signified " than which there is no hotter." There were three other such spots, all in north Africa. That this unenviable distinction is purchased at a price will be readily apparent from a few figures. In Ireland the mean summer maximum temperature is 60° F. In Baghdad, by the middle of April, temperatures are beginning to mount beyond 90°, and they do not come down below this figure before the beginning of September. Summer, therefore, lasts for seven months. During a really hot day the temperature will go up from 80° at five a.m. to 120° by three p.m.

The summer of 1935 gives a good idea of how hot it can actually be in Baghdad. During the four months from June to September the maximum was never below 100°. There were sixty-eight days with a maximum of 110° or over, and twenty-five days with 115° or over. The high mark was July 21st with 121°. All these figures are, of course, shade temperatures. In the sun it will be as high as 160°, and in such heat men will be laying bricks and doing other manual labour.

Only the low humidity makes it possible to survive such heat, twenty-five per cent. being a normal figure. Sometimes, of course, it may go much higher, even up to seventy per cent., and then there is real discomfort. During the day doors and windows are shut tight, and at night thrown open to catch whatever cool breeze may be stirring. Sleeping indoors is impossible, and during summer all beds are up on the roof.

This is true even of Mosul in the north; this past July the temperature there reached 124°. You might think that the whole population would flock to the river in such temperatures, but strangely enough that seems to be a privilege reserved for the youngsters.

Since Iraq gets practically no rain during six months of the year, another feature of the climate that goes to make life miserable are the dust storms. By some these are dreaded more than the heat, for the dust penetrates everywhere and covers everything no matter how tightly doors and windows may be closed. In a really heavy storm the dust will ascend a mile or more, giving the atmosphere at times a strange orange hue. Visibility becomes nil, and airplanes find it impossible to land. A fairly heavy dust storm will deposit 350 tons of dust to the square mile. One which occurred in March, 1935, dropped some 2,300 tons to the square mile, which works out to about a pound and a half to the square yard. Such storms are obviously hard on the health of bronchial sufferers and on the tempers of Baghdad housewives.

II

The traveller must bear in mind that as an independent kingdom Iraq is only five years old and that allowance must therefore be made for its youth. It was in October 1932 that the British Mandate was terminated and Iraq took its place on a footing of equality with its fellow members in the League of Nations. Britain, it is true, still maintains a military force here; but that, of course, is without prejudice to its independent status. Prior to the World War Iraq was but a backward and neglected province of the Ottoman Empire. As long as things ran smoothly, Turkey showed little interest in it. Unlike Syria and Palestine, it was remote and inaccessible, and its population was cut off from the Mediterranean seaboard by the Syrian Desert. Untouched for the most part by contact with the outside world, its people were content to go on as they had done for centuries past.

The advent of the British in the War and their continued tutelage up to the time of the cessation of the Mandate brought

a great change, not merely in those externals which are characteristic of modern civilization, but in the ideas and attitudes of the Iraqis themselves. They were ambitious to emulate the west, even in such apparently insignificant matters as going smooth-shaven and wearing European dress. Spurred on, too, by the example of Kamal Atatürk in Turkey and Riza Shah Pahlavi in Iran, they were desirous of building up their country into a thoroughly modern state. When independence was granted them, they determined to show the world what stuff they were made of. If their dreams have been slow of realization, it is because they reckoned without their difficulties. These difficulties lay in the nature of the country and in the heterogeneous character of the population scattered over it.

Nature has not been kind to Iraq. It is little more than a vast desert of approximately 143,000 square miles, with a mean annual rainfall of six inches and a population of about four million. (For purposes of comparison, Iraq is about four times the size of Ireland, with a population about equal. Ireland's average rainfall is between thirty and forty inches). In the extreme north, along the Turkish and Iranian frontiers, the country is mountainous, and a more generous rainfall, perhaps twelve inches, permits crops of winter grain to be grown. Traversing the country from north-east to south-west, the Tigris and Euphrates flow very roughly parallel at an average distance of perhaps a hundred miles from each other, joining at Qurna some fifty miles from the Persian Gulf. These two rivers are aliens in the sense that they bring almost all their water from Turkey. They cannot be said to drain Iraq for the simple reason that Iraq gives them almost nothing to drain. Hence it is that the land through which they flow is no less bleak and barren than elsewhere in Iraq, except in so far as man utilises their waters for irrigation purposes. Once upon a time, even as late as the thirteenth century, a vast network of canals and ditches made a veritable garden of the land between the two rivers. A squirrel, they say, could travel from Baghdad to Basrah without once descending to the ground. But the Mongol invader Hulagu Khan is said to have changed all that and to have turned the country once again

into the desert that it had been, and that it now remains to the present time. A certain amount of irrigation in the immediate vicinity of the rivers is carried on even now, but it is insignificant when compared with what could be done. On the other hand, full credit must be given to the Government for the half-dozen or so regulators which it has erected, particularly in the Euphrates region, for promoting cultivation by irrigation. Other more ambitious schemes have been projected, but it is hard to say when they will be carried out.

The other and more serious difficulty with which the new Government has had to cope arises out of internal dissension. This is not remarkable when one considers the make-up of the population, whether on religious or on national lines. The Moslems are about 95 per cent. of the population, but they are divided into two inimical sects, the Sunnis and the Shiahs. The Shiahs, though somewhat in the majority, wield far less influence, and this is a source of continual resentment which leads often to open conflict. Periodically the Shiah tribes of the South Euphrates region revolt against the Government, tear up the railway tracks, and go on a general rampage of pillage and looting. The army is forthwith despatched, martial law is declared in the disaffected areas, airplanes are sent out to machine-gun the rebels (when they can be located), and eventually the newspapers announce for the first time that there has been some trouble in the south, but that now it has been settled and everything is peaceful and quiet again. More than that they do not say. Another angle to the feud between Sunnis and Shiahs is the fact that the Kurds from the mountainous north, who are Sunnis and (begging Herr Hitler's pardon) Aryans, bear no great love towards the Semitic Arabs. Keeping the peace for long among such a population is no easy task.

Further complications arise from the fact that about five per cent. of the population is made up of Jews and Christians, perhaps in equal numbers. It is difficult to get exact figures. The Jews, according to common report, wish to minimize their numbers lest the Moslems become apprehensive of their growing strength. They are most numerous in Baghdad, where they

have a strong grip on the commerce of the town. They themselves claim that they are descendants of those Babylonian captives who chose to remain in Mesopotamia when their brethren returned to Palestine. Publicly they show but little sympathy to the Zionist cause—which is only prudent policy these days in a Moslem country. Privately I have been assured that they would flock to Palestine if the proposed Jewish state were set up.

The Christians are divided (need I say in both senses of the word ?) among a wide variety of rites, both Uniate and Orthodox : Chaldeans, Syrians, Armenians, Greeks, Nestorians, Jacobites, and Gregorians. Of Latin Christians there is but a sprinkling. Though reliable figures are lacking, Baghdad itself is said to possess about 20,000 Christians. Their main strength, however, is in the extreme north, where there are whole villages made up of Christians. The fact that there are Kurdish villages in the same neighbourhood, and that the Shammar tribe inhabits the nearby desert, causes them quite understandably to become nervous on occasions. That this nervousness is not without justification is attested by the events even of recent years.

One need not wonder that there is a good deal of jealousy and suspicion and even downright hate in a population thus made up of Sunni and Shiah Moslems, of Arabs and Kurds, Jews and Christians, to say nothing of the smaller groups of Turks, Persians, Sabaeans, and Yezidis (so-called devil-worshippers). The difficulty with which the Government is faced in trying to weld this heterogeneous mass into a unified and peaceable whole is likewise not hard to imagine. Whether, in fact, a Moslem Government (" Islam is the official religion of the State," says the Iraqi Constitution) can ever hope to unite such disparate elements, not only in theory but also in feasible practice, may well be doubted. Particularly is this the case where the different elements feel that they are being discriminated against and denied the rights guaranteed them by the Constitution and laws. In spite of the noble sentiments enunciated by the Iraqi Constitution, which states that " there shall be no differentiation in the rights of Iraqis before

the law, whatever differences may exist in language, race, or creed," everybody knows that the minor officials charged with giving the citizens their due interpret the law pretty much as they see fit and follow their own petty prejudices and dislikes. In the old days you paid the Turkish official what he asked, and you got what you wanted. That was the accepted system, and everybody understood it. There was no nonsense about rights and duties. Those who couldn't pay did without. Nowadays the system is more complicated. Venality has not, of course, disappeared with the introduction of the Constitution, nor has discrimination. The discrimination, it is true, may be more subtle ; but it gives rise nevertheless to hard feelings and widens the gulf that already exists between the various groups. The heads of the Government may deplore this and try to stop it, but it goes on in spite of their efforts.

III

Someone has said, " Poor peasants, poor country." That does not seem to hold for Iraq as far as the Government itself is concerned. As governments go nowadays, Iraq seems to be pretty well situated. There is no public debt, and the budget is balanced each year without difficulty. The people, it is true, are poor enough. A labourer's wage is a shilling a day, and a large proportion of the population seem to get barely enough to keep body and soul together. The Government pays its policemen something like £3 a month, though a goodly number of its officials get from £10 to £30.

Nearly half of the government income is derived from customs duties. Since Iraq is an agricultural country and has no industries to speak of, almost everything but food must be imported, and everything, especially food, is burdened with a heavy duty. Twenty-five per cent. *ad valorem* is a favourite figure, though in some cases it is much higher. Two European experts were hired to arrange the tariff schedules so as to bring in the maximum amount of revenue, and it must be admitted that they did a good job. Foreigners, of course, are hardest hit, for it is they particularly who patronize imported goods.

About one-fifth of the State's annual income is derived

from royalties received from oil pumped from wells in the Kirkuk region. The State receives four shillings for each ton of oil exported, and since the pipe line to the Mediterranean began operating, the figure has risen until over 300,000 tons a month are being pumped. The concession for the oil fields is, of course, in the hands of foreigners.

The Government has missed few opportunities of raising revenue by taxation. Every donkey-load of produce that comes to market pays its tithe, for there are taxes on all agricultural and pastoral products. Dates, sheep and corn bear the brunt of such taxation, Iraq producing about three-fourths of the world's dates. There is, of course, a tax on all property, on incomes over £150, and on every possible transaction that might conceivably come under the Government's scrutiny.

Ten per cent. of the revenue goes for education, which is an encouraging sign. Before the War, education in Iraq was practically non-existent : only the chosen few who could afford to go abroad received an education worthy of the name. The schools connected with the mosques taught their pupils little more than memorized passages from the Koran. The chief problem of the new Government in instituting a system of education has been that of finding capable teachers, and that problem persists to the present day. The problem was solved in part by bringing in teachers from Syria and Egypt, by sending young Iraqis abroad for the necessary training, and finally by opening a Training School for Teachers here in Iraq.

It would be easy to criticise the quality of education that has been given, to find fault with the overloaded and frequently changed programmes, and to accuse the Government of not knowing its own mind. But it must be borne in mind that the responsible officials had almost nothing to start with and had practically to lift themselves with their own bootstraps. Further, the frequent change of Ministries (nine months has been the average life of a Cabinet) and the consequent shifting of officials both major and minor plays havoc with any sort of long-range planning. When we consider that in 1920 (when the Mandate began) there were 8,000 pupils in eighty schools (any building was made to serve for a school), and that by

1935 there were some 75,000 pupils in 600 schools, it must be admitted that a great deal has been done. It is worthy of note that one-fourth of these pupils are girls. Under the old regime women were not to be educated.

In the above figures only five per cent. of the pupils are in secondary schools. For anything beyond secondary education students must still go outside the country. There is, however, in Baghdad the Government Law School, the Royal College of Medicine (staffed chiefly by British doctors), the School of Pharmacy, and the Engineering School. These have been in operation for several years, and I take it that the quality of training given in them is satisfactory, though one must remember that in this part of the world a certain easygoing tolerance in matters educational is taken for granted.

All minorities in Iraq have the right to maintain their own schools in their respective languages. This seems to have caused the Department a certain amount of concern, arising out of what we may call the Department's philosophy of education. That philosophy maintains that to build a unified nation complete uniformity of education is necessary. It is expressed in the dictum : " We are not Jews, Christians, or Moslems : we are all Arabs." Hence a certain process of attrition has set in, the end result of which tends to be that all schools become Government Schools. That there is resistance on the part of the minorities to this subtle process is, of course, to be expected. Just what the final outcome will be remains to be seen. The key to the situation seems to be this : without a Government Certificate a boy's chances of getting a job are almost nil, and the surest way to get a Government Certificate is to attend a Government School.

It is an open secret that Iraq, as an independent government, is passing through a crisis to-day. What the future holds for her it is difficult to say. She has made a brave beginning against tremendous odds, but she has also come perilously close to foundering because of dissension among passengers and crew. And there are still dangerous rocks ahead.[1]

[1] [Since these words were written, the Chief of the Iraqi General Staff and the Commander of the Iraqi Air Force have been assassinated (Aug. 11)—a crime which, among other repercussions, has resulted in a change of Government.—EDITOR.]

THE ART OF MEDICINE

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THE history of medicine in the last hundred years is the history of those various trends which combined to shatter the elegant and self-confident eighteenth century civilization ; for it is a mistake to assume that the French Revolution uprooted the Ancien Régime. There was no catastrophe in the cultural sense ; the new elements introduced were either extruded as foreign bodies—only to take on a morbid isolated growth—or were amalgamated with already existing tendencies and institutions. Lord Melbourne, the Duke of Wellington, and Metternich—all carried themselves with ease and distinction in the early nineteenth century atmosphere, even if they did not adopt with gusto any of the then new thought.

But, in spite of the continuity, we are conscious of an increased tempo of change. Institutions and systems have lost rigidity, have become plastic. The less deeply rooted they are, the more they tend to split, to crumble away.

The three great professions or callings—the Church, Medicine, and the Law—have deeper roots than any other. They stand aside a little from the main current of men's lives. They have, each of them, a clear-cut final cause, a purpose easily understood ; the need for them springs from man's nature. It is not then surprising that they should have long histories with few revolutions, nor that they should be very chary of new things. This is true of all them, but with a difference. Precedent, it has been said, makes Law. The Church guards a deposit of revealed truth. But Medicine has no revealed truth (though it once strove to set up Galen as an eternal authority), and it is very distrustful of precedents.

This mingling of two opposite tendencies accounts for that

strange feature of medical history, which has no parallel in the other learned professions: the ever-recurring attack on traditional positions—which ends, not in schism, but in complete victory for one side or the other. The reason for this peculiarity is that medicine is not concerned with wisdom only, that fruit of accumulated spiritual experience, but also—perhaps even more—with knowledge of scientific abstractions. It is an art; and as an art it needs and uses principles, complete knowledge of which is wisdom. But it is, or strives to be, a science also; and therefore it has no history in the immanent sense that other human institutions have. You cannot say of medical history that its progress was internally conditioned by either the men who made it or by the civilization that formed the background. For its progress it has been dependent everywhere, from China to Peru, on the irregular, erratic march of scientific discovery.

Yet, if the debt to science is great, it should not blind us to the fact that there are elements in medicine which have nothing to hope and much to fear from the scientific transformation which is occurring with accelerated pace. It was the recognition of this danger that lent nineteenth century medicine the strength to resist—sometimes with unwise zeal—the rising tide of purely materialistic science. Thus every attack launched by the eager apostles of each new scientific theory, throughout that century of battles, found medical men uneasy spectators with very divided sympathies. Instinct told them that the defenders of old truths were fighting for something which they also must defend; but science and scientific methods they could not easily disavow. So they pursued their affairs, aloof, highly conservative in their corporate life and in their codes of professional behaviour, disinclined to take any active part in the struggle waged around them. There are very few great medical names in the scientifico-religious controversies of the nineteenth century. This was certainly not due to strong religious convictions. On the contrary, it is notorious that the leaders of the profession in all western countries were, to put it at the lowest, very liberal theologians. Still we find Claude Bernard, who

transformed medicine by his adaptation of scientific methods to its peculiar needs, taking up a very wary attitude on such questions as the relations of soul and body, the existence of final causes, and cognate problems—on which, it was commonly assumed, no scientist could hold any but those deterministic materialist opinions which have since hardened into a dogmatic system.

Yet, on the whole, the strong affinities which bound medicine to experimental science, and the evident advantages that rapidly accrued from the application of the new discoveries in chemistry and physics to its particular problems, could not fail to have an increasing influence. Biology had passed from the Aristotelian stage of observation and description to the full freedom of experiment. Physiology and its offshoot pharmacology, the science of drug action, were, from the beginning of last century onwards, moving from triumph to triumph. The leadership of medicine was passing—slowly in Anglo-Saxon countries, more rapidly on the Continent—from the hospital to the university—to a university which had equipped itself with laboratories. If the general practitioner continued, as his predecessors had done from the time of the Hippocratic school, to think in terms of constitutions, the university teachers were groping towards the concept of disease. It is not easy now, even for the doctor, to understand the medical ideas of the Hippocratic tradition, so familiar have the others since become. But it is not without importance, as an index of the philosophical background of traditional medicine, to note that men thought of illness as a property of a personal essence—and that this essence was the constitution.

The noxae which so deranged the essence, and thus indirectly gave rise to the disease, were regarded as accidental rather than efficient causes. There is still much more to be said for this view than is commonly realized ; though indeed, with the development of endocrinology and the newer psychology, constitutions are again coming into fashion. But in the latter half of the nineteenth century it had no chance in the world of science. The men in the laboratories were

on the lookout for some simple specific cause-effect series, which would operate with the deadly determinism of a physical experiment. And so the stage was set for the arrival of Pasteur. It was a more than happy chance that Lord Lister was, at the same time, hot on the trail of the microbes. The Zeitgeist, which is so potent in these matters, was doubtless responsible for the coincidence. But Pasteur, that master of patient experiment, discovered that the cause of infectious disease was the pullulation of small living things in the body of the victim ; and in a decade all the old ideas were submerged beneath the flood.

It is hard to resist the temptation to discuss the real implications of Pasteur's discovery. Is the microbe an efficient cause—or merely a *conditio sine qua non?* What of the non-microbial diseases ? These and many other questions can only be discussed adequately in a language bristling with technicalities. It really matters little where the exact truth lay or lies ; for it is what men believe that influences their actions, not what they should believe. The men in the laboratories believed that they had found what was missing, the necessary starting-point for a deterministic theory of disease ; and they lost no time in drawing out the implications of the discovery. If the microbe is the cause of the disease, then the disease is the same in each person affected. The typhoid state gave way to the abstraction " typhoid fever " ; men did not have a gouty constitution—they had gout. Again, a remedy, to be curative in the true sense, must be shown to attack the cause ; and such a remedy, when found, would cure Tom, Dick or Harry with equal efficacy. Symptomatic or palliative treatment had a bad name ; it was the era of therapeutic nihilism. But it was also an era of triumph for the hygienists. Bacteriology—Pasteur's science—gave them just that analytic instrument which they needed in their struggle, based hitherto largely on prejudice, against dirt. Preventive medicine, as it is now called, till then a pious aspiration, became a practical policy.

The triumph which the hygienists expected—and to some extent achieved—over the common forms of infectious disease

involved the use of methods in which the person disappears to give place to the unit. That last indefinable something which distinguishes one man from another—and which the doctors had always held to be of supreme importance, giving it the special name of constitution—was necessarily disregarded by those whose task it was to devise mass treatment or mass precautions. Individuals appeared as units in a statistical universe, affected by a coefficient of variability. With the help of the calculus of probabilities, the efficacy of new methods of treatment should be appraised by strict comparison of large numbers of treated and untreated cases.

It cannot be said that the medical profession took kindly to these innovations. It looked askance on the new class of state officials who took no honorarium from their patients, who indeed had no patients in any traditional sense, but who treated—sometimes compulsorily—large and ever increasing numbers. The tradition of personal service, recognized on the part of the sick by an honorarium, was highly prized. The complete independence of the medical body, imposing on its members such rules and practices as it thought fit, seemed to be challenged by this new alliance with the state, which was rendered necessary by mass-methods. But in spite of the grumblings and warnings of outraged traditionalists, the spread of public health services and the introduction of national health insurance are landmarks in the gradual advance of state medicine, which brings with it the twin concepts of compulsion and standardisation. The last stage, when all doctors will be state servants and all patients compelled to receive a standardized treatment carefully worked out on the basis of large-scale statistical inquiry, is so far in being only in Russia.

State medicine is hailed as an ideal by some, who point to the danger of encroaching commercialism and scarcely veiled quackery as the inevitable alternative. Others, among them the author of an able book *Humanisme et Médecine*,[1] hold that at all costs doctors must keep their traditions intact. To do this it is essential to make explicit the philosophical

[1] *Humanisme et Médecine*. Par le Dr. Joseph Okinezye, Paris: Labergerie, 1937, pp. 140.

positions underlying a tradition which may appear to a superficial view to be composed of prejudices and selfish exclusiveness. Dr. Okinezye points out that, since the ends of medicine are both cure and prevention of disease, it must be guaranteed the free use of whatever legitimate means are necessary to attain these ends. Further, since man is made up of soul and body and since the health of the body is profoundly influenced by the state of the soul, freedom in the choice of means must be available not only to the physician but also to the patient. He must be able to choose someone in whom he has confidence; otherwise he will not give that necessary co-operation which alone, in chronic disease, makes treatment really effective. This necessity for a confident co-operation between patient and physician is the basis of those regulations so strictly insisted upon by the medical corporation and so often resented by outsiders as a form of narrow trade-unionism. All the rules controlling the transfer of patients, the calling in of a consultant and the discussion of treatment prescribed by a colleague can easily be misrepresented as a combination of ceremonious mystification and clannishness. They may indeed, in unworthy hands, be used unworthily and serve to cover such enormities as fee-splitting—with which practice Dr. Okinezye deals most trenchantly. But they are nevertheless soundly based on a recognition of the essential nature of the Medical Act: "ce colloque singulier . . . un acte d'homme à homme," in the words of M. Duhamel quoted by the author.

This insistence on the personal nature of the medical relationship does not mean that the ideals of preventive medicine should be neglected or their practitioners refused recognition by the medical body. Man is a social being and has certain duties towards society—which he can, if necessary, be compelled to perform. But the position of a doctor who is a servant of the state is and must always remain a peculiar one. He cannot shift his full responsibility to the broad shoulders of a higher authority. He must always be prepared to defend his patient's interests even at the cost of his own, and he may not co-operate in any immoral act under any

pretext. It is characteristic of the doctor's calling that, in regard to the state, he stands in a different relationship to that of any other citizen except the priest. He has the same sacred responsibility towards life that the priest has towards the soul. He may not kill even in his country's defence; indeed he must do his utmost for the enemy just as for his own. All the various modern modulations on the ancient savages themes of child exposure and abandonment of the useless aged (now called euthanasia) are (or should be) alike abhorrent to the medical conscience. These are the stumbling-blocks—no inconsiderable ones—in the path of the doctor who wishes to participate in collective medicine under the control of the modern state.

There are others which spring from the highly confidential nature of the medical act. A doctor, whether he be a state servant or a private practitioner, necessarily learns his patient's secrets. The question frequently arises whether—and if so, under what circumstances—he may reveal them. Dr. Okinezye, in a closely reasoned chapter, argues that, since absolute confidence is essential for efficient performance of his task, a doctor must be entitled to use all legitimate means to secure that unquestioning confidence; and the obligation of inviolable secrecy is the most potent means available. In an attempt to limit the obligation, distinctions have been drawn between the secrets confided by the patient and those discovered by the doctor during his professional visits. But Dr. Okinezye will have none of them. He concludes that the medical secret should be as rigidly observed as in the case of the priest; and he quotes Canon Law to the same effect.

It is clear that, if men are to maintain such a high level of conduct as is here laid down, their preparation must be no ordinary one. Indeed, this has always been recognized; and successive generations of students have groaned under repeated additions to the curriculum. But these additions have all been made with the same general object in view; and their effect has been the direct opposite of what Dr. Okinezye and most thoughtful medical men would desire. They may, if taken advantage of, deepen the student's knowledge of the

scientific and practical aspects of that medley of separate disciplines which are grouped under the common title "medicine." But they leave less and less time to the unfortunate youth for those studies which were until recently considered as indispensable for the professional man. Now that a young man is expected to pass a qualifying examination in the fundamental sciences before beginning his course, the result will be that his general studies will be contracted to the bare necessary minimum in his last year at school. It is no doubt possible to be a good doctor—and even a humanist—without much book-learning; but it is certainly not easy, during the intervals of a busy life, to maintain an interest in the humanities if the habit has never been solidly established. And yet experience shows that without such an interest, which links men together in a natural communion of rationality, codes of conduct and standards tend to contract, to lose contact with the more general principles upon which they are based and from which they should draw inspiration. That this is happening in medicine is unfortunately evident, though there has been as yet no general or irremediable decline of standards.

In two other books recently published—*Das Werden des christlichen Arztes*[1] and *Vers une Médecine humaine*[2]—the same problems are discussed from rather different standpoints. Dr. Okinezye considered medicine as a human activity, arising from natural needs and finding in the correct application of right reason the solutions of its peculiar problems. Grace presupposes nature, and the supernatural presupposes the natural. Therefore a man must use the ordinary natural means to meet the demands of his profession, before he may call upon grace to make good his deficiencies. Dr. Zawisch's book is less philosophical and more devotional in tone. He urges, sometimes in unhappily chosen words, young Catholic men who think of becoming doctors to submit themselves to a vigorous self-examination under a number of heads, which

[1] *Das Werden des christlichen Arztes.* Von Carla Zawisch. Einsiedeln: Benzieger. 1937, pp.
[2] *Vers une Médecine humaine.* Par A. Vincent. Paris: Aubier. 1937. 18 fr.

he sets out. It is extremely doubtful if much good could come of such an analysis. Young men are rarely good judges of their own characteristics between the ages of 17 and 19, when the decision to become a doctor must be made. There is much force in the rhetorical question which the author asks himself: "Is there no danger of their becoming hypocrites or, if not that, impractical, reserved brooders?" Most experienced people would confidently answer "Yes."

Yet there is much in this little book which is of value to Catholic doctors. There comes a time when every man asks himself the dreary question: "What is the good of it all?" To those who can only answer: "the further advancement of science," life loses most of its meaning and the pursuit of duty is every day a grimmer task. The humanist is in better case. He, at least, can rely on a creed well-based, so far as it goes, with respectable traditions stretching back to Socrates and, after him, the Stoics. But his creed, while it will help him beyond measure more than the worship of science, still lacks something—and has always lacked it. The Socratic dialogues are full of the implicit need of a God who shall be all that man is not. The Christian has the revelation of that one God, who is the Father of all, and of His Son, who is given to us as a model for our imitation. All that is meant by this imitation of Christ in the everyday work of the doctor is carefully—if sometimes heavily—drawn out by Dr. Zawisch. There is a kind of mawkishness, set-off by an over-emphasis of the obvious, which mars this book at times. It is a pity, because the author has been at great pains to present a clear picture of the true Christian doctor, and he has on the whole succeeded.

The third book—*Vers une Médecine humaine*—takes the gloomiest view of the present state of the profession in France. It is interesting because it illustrates the disintegrating effect of individualism, pushed to extreme length and allied with commercialism, on a profession which has abandoned its traditional beliefs. No doubt the picture painted here of French medicine is exaggerated; indeed the book can hardly be taken as serious evidence of the real conditions. But there

is also no doubt that dichotomy, or fee-splitting, has spread like a disease through France in the last fifty years, while the trade in drug specialities, here as elsewhere, has taken on all the most repellent features of modern big business.

In England the existence and function of the General Medical Council act as a check on this kind of moral degeneration. Indeed England is peculiarly fortunate in having set up, almost by accident, that anachronistic body, which possesses powers of law-making and of judgement analogous to those exercised by the Medieval Guilds. No such body exists in France.

M. Vincent points to one cause of the medical crisis which is not touched upon in the other two books: the rapid development, in modern times, of specialities and of complicated methods of diagnosis and treatment. This, he points out, has made the task of the individual practitioner well-nigh impossible. He inevitably falls short of the highest degree of competence in every branch of his profession; though his knowledge may be encyclopaedic, mere lack of practice robs him of the necessary technical skill in all but the simplest tasks. And when it comes, as it so often does to-day, to the use of expensive and complicated machines, he cannot hope to compete with the well-equipped hospital or clinic. M. Vincent rejects the Russian solution of a bureaucratic medicine, though he finds much to admire in modern Russian hospitals and dispensaries. He would prefer a large development of the free clinic, where an association of doctors, representing all the specialities and possessing in common the necessary equipment, give to their patients the best available value in diagnosis and treatment.

This idea is, of course, no Utopian one. Such clinics are common both in America and in Germany, and undoubtedly they possess immense advantages over the individual doctor. It may well be that, if full advantage is to be taken of the rapid stream of discovery in the medical sciences, this is the only possible free organization of the medical profession in the future. As M. Vincent claims, it possesses all the essential advantages of the personal relationship so much prized by

traditionalists, since the patient addresses himself to one member of the group and remains in a special sense his patient.

All the problems dealt with in these three books are urgent in Ireland also. We are not safeguarded by our religious atmosphere. Indeed our peculiar circumstances, which make it inevitable that the majority of young Catholics passing out from our medical schools must emigrate, render the position more dangerous than elsewhere ; they are apt to be unprepared for the impact of a non-Catholic environment.

The young man who takes up work abroad is at first conscious of a comfortable atmosphere ; medical tradition, its code of ethics, its technique, even its official language are international. He knows the rules which he has learnt as part of that professional law, medical jurisprudence ;[1] and he is gratified by the lowering of barriers, which is a happy characteristic of a successful international society. But, unfortunately for him, the feeling of security engendered by the uniformity of medical conventions is nowadays deceptive.

The day is past in most countries, rapidly passing in others, when implicit recognition of Christian, or even Hippocratic principles, was part of the medical traditions. There has been in the XXth century a rapid growth of the conviction among doctors that they have an absolute right to lay down rules on all medical matters. Just as the scientist is free to decide the manner and object of his experiments according to rules which have been developed by the application of reason to observation ; so, it would be held, the medical scientist must be free in his own province where he alone is competent.

The assumption underlying this claim is, of course, that all the elements of the medical problem may be exclusively set out in the terms used by a science of biology. It is not at all, as might seem at first sight, the arrogance of a crude materialism such as was preached by the prophets of the late

[1] In the colleges of the National University he has, no doubt, also heard the Catholic point of view stated on matters where moral principles are involved.

nineteenth century. On the contrary, the new interest in medical psychology, with its clear recognition of the predominance of the spiritual over the material in health and even more in disease, has strengthened the conviction that man is a suitable object for a complete biological analysis. Biology has, it must be remembered, abandoned the vain attempt to reduce all vital phenomena to the laws deduced from the observation of inanimate matter. Though it has not yet succeeded in deducing a system of rational laws of its own, it has nonetheless emphatically opted for independence—for freedom from any restriction imposed upon it from without. The importance of this development, from the medical point of view, lies in the fact that it weakens the instinctive resistance, already noted, of medical men to the annexation of medicine as a branch of applied biology—more or less on a level with veterinary science.

The modern medical biologist seeks then to rationalize the medical conventions in terms of his new science. He does not deny the validity of concepts such as good and evil; nor the existence of a moral law. He is not concerned with them. But he claims the right to deduce his own laws and to apply them in a sphere where suffering and disease on the one hand, health and the useful life on the other, are the ruling criteria. That the application of these criteria to human life brings him into direct conflict with a moral law, leaves him with the growing conviction that, not his science, but the moral law needs amendment.

The dangers arising from this rapid dechristianization of medicine are most apparent in questions concerning birth and death. They are the focal points around which much of the controversy turns.

Contraception was fifty years ago a shameful practice; it has become the hallmark of a higher civilization. Abortion, though still a criminal offence outside Russia, is no longer felt by the biologists to be morally wrong. The only consideration which still gives them pause is the danger to health involved. Should however the special circumstances of the case warrant the risk, few would hesitate, in the euphemistic circumlocution

so characteristic of modern science, to "terminate the pregnancy."[1] The law has therefore lost the force which comes from an acknowledged moral background. Similarly, that a life should be painlessly ended, when hopeless suffering or a future of helpless invalidism is inevitable, is now the conviction of the great majority of non-Catholic practitioners.

The differences between Catholic and non-Catholic (one can no longer say Christian and non-Christian, for outside the Catholic Church the other Christian communities have taken no clear corporate line on these matters) are not, however, limited to these comparatively clear-cut issues; it is not as simple a matter as that. Through the whole theory and practice of medicine a cleavage has developed, dividing that one united body into two fundamentally hostile camps; and the hostility has a peculiarity which often conceals its very existence, and always enables our opponents to accuse us of wanton, unprovoked attack. They are, they explain, merely drawing out the obvious logical conclusions from a set of premises admitted by all; and indeed, if you grant their essential premise, that medicine is a branch of biological science dealing with an organism which differs only in degree from other organisms, you can hardly escape their conclusions.

There is then a great responsibility devolving on those who deliberately facilitate the export of doctors from Ireland.

All our schools are organized towards that end—the provision of an English medical proletariat. It is quite true that many of our men rise high in the professional ranks; that some come back, having received their higher training over there; and that, as yet, in England the floodgates of medical nihilism have not opened. But it would be foolish to be optimistic. The peculiar organization of the profession in England with its powerful corporate court and legislature—the General Medical Council—has acted hitherto as a strong check on the radicals. But they are gaining ground. The older men, who from religious conviction or hippocratic prejudice cling to the old conventions, are dropping out; the

[1] Only where the operation is done by non-medical hands does it involve a moral stigma. This is in itself significant; competence on the scientific and technical planes is the ethical criterium.

new leaders of the profession in England have again and again stated their sympathy with the biologists : only a few months ago one of the most prominent of them introduced in the House of Lords a measure advocating Euthanasia.

Unless some miracle of grace occurs, England will follow the other continental countries—more slowly, because the English are less influenced by reason in their actions, but perhaps more ruthlessly in the end when their hearts are moved. We must be prepared for the shock when it comes. We must decide whether we prefer to spend our money on educating fewer and better doctors to meet our own needs ; or to continue exporting them.

The first alternative means small classes, the selection of the best students for admission to the medical schools, and correspondingly high standards. But it also means diminished opportunity in a land where opportunity is all too rare. Still there are other small countries which have preferred that path and have not suffered by it. Switzerland, for instance, refused reciprocity with England, though she would have thereby gained access for her students to the whole British Empire at the cost of admitting a few English doctors to her health resorts. By pushing up her standards of efficiency and by insisting on a long post-graduate training, the supply of doctors has been successfully adjusted to the demand ; and Swiss medicine is qualitatively on a level with that of any country in Europe.

But if the export of doctors is to go on, as seems most likely, they must be sent out with something of the missionary spirit. It will not be easy to engender this ; for all ills are imaginary ills when they are far enough away. And we in Ireland are mercifully protected—perhaps too carefully protected—from the kind of evil that doctors have to deal with.

There is, I am afraid, no use in deluding ourselves with the belief that anything in the nature of a short course of lectures on medical ethics (such as the students now receive in their fourth year) would meet the necessities of the case. That this instruction has been, in the main, sufficient up to

the present depends upon the fact, already noted, that the atmosphere in England under the conservative influence of the General Medical Council has been more favourable to us than to the radical biologists. This state of things cannot last; we must envisage the direct opposite in a future more or less remote, with the state taking a hand to enforce anti-christian practices.

Such a short course would fail for another reason. The medical student learns—in self-protection—to limit his studies to the strict essentials; and for him the essentials are what will be necessary for the examination. His teachers are constantly struggling with his well-developed power of forgetting promptly, and most completely, everything upon which he has already been examined.

There would therefore need to be incorporated in the curriculum a carefully planned course, on theoretical and applied ethics, extending over at least one year and culminating in an examination. Such a course could only be efficacious in the closing years when the student is working in the hospital and in contact with sick persons. If it were given at an early stage, much if not all of what had been learnt would be forgotten by the time it became necessary to put it into practice.

If we admit that such a course and examination are the necessary minimum to prepare a student for the moral problems which must meet him in practice in a non-Christian environment, there remain to be considered two questions: who is to give the course? And is it at all likely to be efficacious?

The first question I do not feel myself competent to answer. It is obvious that it is, to say the least, unlikely that one man should possess that combination of wide ethical knowledge and practical medical experience which would alone ensure success. This difficulty might, however, be met by a close collaboration between medical and ethical experts.

The answer to the second question depends to some extent on the successful solution of the difficulty just mentioned. But there is another consideration which would greatly jeopardize the success of any such scheme. It would be very difficult to invest the examination with any of the importance

naturally attached to the purely medical ones in the minds of both students and examiners. It would, therefore, not be easy to insist on the student passing the examination as a condition precedent to presenting himself for the final medical. It would be felt inevitably, as it is now felt in connection with the qualifying examination in Irish, that to refuse a candidate permission to proceed to the final because of his failure to qualify in Ethics, was an incommensurate penalty. If he then passed the final medical, it would, I feel, be hardly possible—quite apart from difficulties which might arise with the General Medical Council—to insist on a subsequent re-examination in Ethics. The subject is further complicated by the existence of at least two licencing bodies in Ireland which certainly would not—indeed could not—arrange for a course and examination of the kind we have described.

This is all very depressing; but it is wise to envisage all the obstacles to a plan before attempting to carry it out. And our examination brings to light, I think, one interesting fact: that any attempt to teach Catholic Medical Ethics would need, for its success, a general recognition—among parents, students, and medical teachers—of the vital necessity of such knowledge. No such general recognition exists at present, because here in Ireland there is no personal experience of the evils in question. But the idea of missionary enterprise, and of the very special preparation needed for work in this field, is familiar to all in Ireland. If then we could develop in our predominantly Catholic Colleges a group of medical missionaries preparing themselves to collaborate with the priests in the great mission territories entrusted to this country, the association between medicine and the missionary spirit would no longer appear far-fetched or unnatural.

Great and good movements have small beginnings; and it is generally unwise to attempt to solve a problem by a ready-made scheme imposed from outside. If it were possible to produce, by the spread from such a missionary group, a spirit of inquiry and interest in problems of ethics, the rest would follow naturally and would have far more chance of achieving permanent results.

T. W. T. Dillon

SOME IMPRESSIONS OF CHINA TO-DAY

BY THOMAS FLEMING, S.J.

THE novel, the cinema and the stage have successfully produced a completely false impression of the average Oriental. Through these mediums he is usually represented as a sinister type of being with a mask-like countenance and half-closed eyes—a personage full of stratagems and spoils. He is also falsely supposed to be impervious to any human emotion and to spend his spare time smoking opium. Residence in China and contact with the Chinese, whether rich or poor, speedily dispels such illusions. Fundamentally, human nature is the same all over the world. The peoples of the East have the same emotions, the same desires and fears, the same affections and aversions as those of the West. The differences which do actually exist between the white and yellow races are only accidental—the outcome of different traditions, customs and methods of education. Nowadays, even these accidental differences are beginning to disappear, for China has been forced by circumstances to emerge from her centuries of isolation. East is meeting West (with all due respect to Mr. Kipling), and the modern educated Chinese differs little in outlook from the average European or American. It is true that the educated classes form only the fringe of the nation, but schools are rapidly multiplying, Western methods of education have been adopted, the spirit of nationalism is growing, and the rising generation of Chinese are determined to put their nation where she ought to be—in the forefront of the nations of the world.

China to-day is, therefore, in a state of rapid transition. The new ideas and motive forces coming from the West are everywhere in conflict with the ancient traditions and customs to which the older people still cling. In order then to understand the state of China to-day it is necessary to know something of its age-old culture.

Centuries before the coming of Christ, when the greater part of Europe was in a state of barbarism, China had attained to a high degree of civilisation. Among the various leaders of thought who have influenced the nation Confucius stands preeminent. He lived in the sixth century before the Christian era, and taught a system of ethics which still has a profound influence on the whole country. His system, which aims at portraying the ideal of a "superior man," contains minute rules of behaviour towards one's fellowmen and one's dead ancestors. Many of his teachings are borrowed from earlier writers, but it is his presentation of them which has had the greatest influence

on the nation. Ancestor-worship is said to be practised by over 300 million Chinese, but the common people do not confine themselves to such a simple ceremonial. Under the influence of wandering Buddhists and quack soothsayers they have fallen a prey to all kinds of superstitions and idolatry. The leaders of modern China, many of whom have been educated in Europe or America, look askance at these popular manifestations of paganism. They feel ashamed of such exhibitions. As a result a certain amount of temple-wrecking has taken place. In many cases the reaction against superstition has led to the rejection of all religion. University professors who have studied abroad bring back atheism with them and pass it on to their pupils. On the other hand, many of the chief men of the government have come to recognise the good influence of Christianity and have been already baptised—for instance, Chiang Kai Shek, T. V. Soong, and others. The progress of the nation towards Catholicism is shown by the steady annual increase in the number of conversions. For instance, in 1931 the total was in the neighbourhood of 50,000, while in 1936 the number was well over 100,000.

The insistence of Confucius on good behaviour is responsible to a great extent for that extraordinary politeness in which the Chinese specialise. In intercourse with one's fellowmen arrogance and rudeness are to be avoided as signs of barbarism; the "superior man," while careful to preserve his personal dignity, must be equally careful to enhance rather than diminish the prestige of his neighbour. This double end is achieved by lavishly praising one's friend and by modestly belittling oneself. This polite form of speech has very wide applications. Where, for example, the foreigner will ask "What is your address?" the cultivated Chinese will say "Where is your exalted palace?"—the polite answer being something like this: "My broken-down hovel is No. 5 Bad Luck Street." Even the weary editor, when rejecting a worthless manuscript, is still expected to "save the face" of the author. I remember on one occasion seeing such a piece of correspondence, which ran somewhat on the following lines:—

"Honourable First-born

Your super-excellent composition is too sublime for our good-for-nothing magazine . . . Were we to publish it, there is danger that the standard would be raised so high that all others would be ashamed to write for many years . . .

Your miserable slave,

....."

A British university professor in Hong Kong, who wished to have one of his literary productions translated into Chinese and appear in the local newspapers, was told that his wonderful article was "too

clear"—and therefore unsuitable for the Chinese, who do not like things put too clearly. The author of the rejected manuscript showed himself highly gratified by this eulogy, though the Chinese to whom he repeated the story were not quite so impressed! The Chinese often prove better psychologists than even university professors of other nations. Recall also the serio-comic politeness of "The Young Marshal" who kidnapped the Generalissimo, Chiang Kai Shek. He humbly admitted that he was "a rustic," and begged to be excused for his bad manners and want of consideration, while the Generalisimo—not to be outdone in politeness—tried to take the blame upon himself, protesting that it was all his fault as he did not keep sufficiently strict discipline among his troops.

Foreigners living in China sometimes lose patience with the round-about methods adopted by the Chinese to avoid any mark of impoliteness; they think it shows, if not hypocrisy, at least exaggerated diplomacy. But, after all, theologians allow a domestic to say to an unwelcome visitor that the master is "not at home." Is it not much better to use this convention (or mental restriction) than bluntly to inform the visitor that you are at home but do not wish to speak with him? The Chinese use a similar mental restriction in the other embarrassing situations which may occur in social intercourse. In accordance with their proverb "One thousand friends are not one too many, but one enemy is," they seek to avoid friction and enmities of all kinds. Contact with foreigners has removed many of the exaggerations of Chinese politeness, but it is hoped that Western bluntness will not completely destroy this attractive oriental quality. In charm of manner the East has nothing to learn from Europe and America.

As might be expected, the ancient culture of China is thoroughly pacificist. The military profession is despised, looked on as a necessary evil, as an occupation fit only for the riff-raff of the country. Fighting and quarrelling are considered unreasonable and unbecoming—hence the Chinese proverb: "In a fight, of all the thirty-six alternatives, the best one is to run away." But this exaggerated pacificism has undergone a profound change in recent years. As a result of foreign aggression and of repeated national humiliations at the hands of Japan, China has been forced in self-defence to adopt an intensive form of militarism. It is not easy to get new ideas across to a nation of over 400 millions steeped in that spirit of fatalism and conservatism so peculiar to Orientals. However, no stone has been left unturned. Military training has been made compulsory in all schools, and the necessity of military discipline and courage is instilled into the young from their earliest years. In the cities of China propaganda is made by placards showing China as the victim of foreign aggression; for instance, one sometimes sees the map of China surrounded by hideous

personifications of aggressor countries—France cutting off a portion in the South, England grabbing Hong Kong, and Japan devouring Manchuria. Underneath such inflammatory representations is an appeal to China to remember her glorious past and to rise from her present state of slavery and national humiliation. By these and other methods the spirit of nationalism has been aroused to a high pitch, especially among the student classes. Nor is Chinese patriotism purely of a verbal nature, as recent events have clearly demonstrated. In the present struggle with Japan occurred an incident which reveals the changed manner of Chinese warfare. A Chinese war-plane, struck by an anti-aircraft gun when fighting over Shanghai, was completely disabled. The pilot, making a parachute descent, landed behind the Japanese lines. There, instead of surrendering, he drew his revolver and sold his life as dearly as he could—a big change from the pacificist spirit of the preceding centuries.

The educational system of ancient China has also been revolutionised in the last decade or two. To appreciate what this means one must realise the value set on learning from time immemorial. A scholar in one's family or even in one's village, though he lived several hundred years ago, was something to boast about. The prestige given by wealth and noble birth was less than that acquired by a learned man. Hence every opportunity would be afforded to a boy who showed unusual ability. If his parents were too poor, means would be provided by the city or the village authorities to enter him for the great triennial examinations at Peking, where a good showing might obtain promotion to the highest offices in the court of the Emperor. In this way a great esteem for learning, culminating in an intellectual aristocracy, was fostered and developed. Even good calligraphy is still highly prized, and specimens of it are frequently framed and exhibited for public admiration. When I was being shown round Canton by a native of the city, one of the chief things pointed out to me was the name of the new bridge over the Pearl River, which had been written by Mr. Hu Han Min. This well-known Chinese scholar had become one of the political leaders of the nation ; but whether his rise to political power was originally due to his expert calligraphy I cannot say.

The educational programme in ancient China consisted, for the most part, in learning the classics by heart. From an early age Chinese children spent their days repeating parrot-like the works of the ancient sages—most of which they were unable to understand. They also spent long years in the acquisition of a perfect calligraphy and of a literary style bristling with flowery metaphors and abstruse historical allusions. As one's prestige depended to a great extent on one's ability to use this artificial style, letter-writing was for nearly everyone a formidable, if not an impossible, task. Thus, under the old regime, even Chinese

priests not infrequently were forced to employ professional letter-writers to write letters for them to their friends. But in recent times this stilted style is gradually giving way to the more business-like methods of the West. The newspapers have also adopted a more colloquial or rational manner of expression. In general the whole educational system has been transformed and modelled on Western lines. Mathematics, physics, chemistry, astronomy, etc., have been added to the secondary school programmes, and in the matriculation classes one finds students learning trigonometry, calculus and conic sections from Western text-books translated into Chinese. When teaching these subjects, one is impressed by the ingenious methods employed to express modern scientific terminology independently of Greek and Latin derivatives. A similar problem arose in Ireland when the national language was first used as a medium of education. The Chinese solution of this difficulty is often picturesque. For instance, to express words like numerator and denominator a fraction is compared to a mother with a child on her back (the usual method of carrying infants in China); with this in mind the denominator is called *fan mo* (the fraction's mother) and the numerator *fan tsz* (the fraction's child). In dealing with logarithms the characteristic and mantissa lose all air of mystery for the Chinese schoolboy, for they are named respectively: *chau sho* (head number) and *mei sho* (tail number). Perhaps, a study of Chinese might aid some of our Irish lexicographers.

Thus far we have seen that China under the impact of Western civilisation is undergoing a radical change in religion, manners and education, but the most striking change of all is the rapid adoption of modern material efficiency. Railways, roads, sky-scrapers, etc., are multiplying, while the most up-to-date military methods and war-machines are being employed. But to appreciate the changes taking place in the military sphere a brief summary of recent political happenings will be helpful.

Since the time of the Revolution in 1911 China has been torn by civil wars—local war-lords, continually in opposition, striving to overcome each other or trying to seize control of the whole nation. Dr. Sun Yat Sen, "the Father of the Republic," worked hard for the formation of a strong united nation fully able to maintain her independence and resist the increasing encroachment of foreign powers. Communist Russia willingly accepted the invitation to co-operate in this work of national organisation. Accordingly Borodin arrived in Canton in 1923. But the Russian methods of terrorism, murder, wholesale robbery and the destruction of family life profoundly shocked the nation, and the Russian experiment was soon brought to an end, though isolated Soviet armies and administrations lingered on for some years in certain provinces—notably in Kiangsi.

When Dr. Sun died in 1925, national unity seemed as remote as ever; but the following year Chiang Kai Shek, a brilliant military strategist trained in Japan, set out from Canton with a well-drilled army and marched northwards. The war-lords of the North, already at war among themselves, were unable to unite against this new enemy from the South, so that Chiang succeeded in capturing Shanghai and Nanking without much difficulty. The latter city was then declared the capital of all China and the headquarters of the Central Government. From that year (1927) until the present time Chiang Kai Shek has worked unceasingly to unify the Chinese nation and to raise it to the status of a Great Power. Such a colossal work could only be carried out very gradually. Several difficulties of the first magnitude stood in his way. The governors of the different provinces were hostile, some of them possessing an army almost as numerous as his own. In addition the menace of Communism had not yet been completely removed; Soviet armies subsidised by Russia still held sway in different districts. Japan also was in a warlike mood, ready to take advantage of internal strife and disorder. The situation called for much strategy and diplomacy. Chiang began first by building up his army on modern lines. When the Japanese seized Manchuria in 1931, Chiang knew that he was as yet no match for Japan in the field; accordingly he resisted all efforts to force him into such an unequal conflict. The Manchurian war-lords were left to their own devices, and as a result a very weak attempt was made at resistance.

The loss of Manchuria called forth a storm of protest from all over China—especially from the hot-headed students in Canton (over 1,000 miles from the scene of the fighting). Chiang was denounced as the friend of Japan and a national traitor. He accordingly resigned from the head of the government in December 1931. But his departure from public life was of brief duration. He was soon entreated to return and take up the post of Generalissimo of the armies of the Central Government. This offer he accepted, and since then Chiang has been the leading figure in Chinese public life.

Continuing his work of strengthening his army and acquiring for it the most modern equipment—guns, aeroplanes and tanks—Chiang soon felt strong enough to undertake the destruction of the various Soviet armies which, with Russian aid, still terrorised certain districts. His first objective was the province of Kiangsi, where a powerful communist administration had already existed for several years. Here Chiang's troops completely routed the Red armies. However, no attempt was made to annihilate them, perhaps designedly. Instead they appear to have been driven into the neighbouring province of Hunan, where the local war-lord, unable to cope single-handed with such formidable foes, was forced to ask help from the Central

Government. Aid was immediately forthcoming, and the opportunity was taken to bind Hunan more closely to the Nanking administration. The fleeing Communists were then driven into the next province; and again help was asked for and given, and another war-lord submitted to the rule of the Central Government. By this strategy several provinces, hitherto hostile or at least of dubious fidelity, were one by one brought under the control of the Generalissimo—namely, Kweichow, Yunnan, Szechuen and Shensi. In the meantime, in 1933, a revolt broke out in Shantung. This was quickly subdued and another province annexed. In 1934 Fukien declared its independence of Nanking, and another civil war flared up. Chiang was again victorious, and another defeated war-lord was politely given his travelling expenses and sent abroad to study economics in foreign universities.

At the beginning of 1936 the unification of China was almost complete; of the eighteen provinces only two refused to submit to Nanking —namely, Kwangtung (capital, Canton) and Kwangsi, both in South-West China. Feeling that their turn was next and believing that attack is the best defence, these two provinces joined together and began to march northwards. The alleged motive of their campaign was to attack Japan and win back the lost provinces. Before they had proceeded very far, they were opposed by the armies of Generalissimo Chiang, and the two Kwangs decided to return home again. Chiang, however, resolved not to let this opportunity go; he pursued the retreating Cantonese army. Whereupon the Cantonese General, Hu Han Mou (secretly the friend of Chiang), decided to lead his army over to the other side. Having done this, he still observed the laws of politeness towards his previous superior, Chan Chai Tong—he sent him a most complimentary letter, begging to be excused for being such a good-for-nothing leader. Shortly after this (and again through friendliness to Chiang), Chan's whole air force flew over to the side of the Central Government. After these "disasters" there was nothing left for the Cantonese war-lord himself except to retire to Hong Kong—apparently *en route* to Europe for the good of his health or for some other "facing-saving" reason, like the study of economics.

Thus was another powerful province brought under control of the Central Government. The Kwangtung government was completely reorganised, and dependable officers were put in charge of the army. Attention was then turned to the neighbouring province of Kwangsi, which now alone remained independent, but its Governor, Pak Sun Hei, refused to yield to either promises or threats. For a time war seemed imminent; but in the end some form of compromise was agreed to, and Chiang returned once more to Nanking. A few months later occurred the incident of his kidnapping by "The Young Marshal." This mysterious event, which called forth demonstrations of loyalty

and sympathy from all over the nation, had the good effect of greatly strengthening the bonds which already united the various provinces with the Central Government.

Thus, at the beginning of 1937, Chiang Kai Shek found himself at the head of a united and loyal nation, while the nation itself enjoyed a better government than it had experienced for centuries. Well might Chiang be proud of the incredible progress made during his ten years of leadership. On China's horizon only one cloud now loomed—Japan. But rapid progress in national defence was being made, and in another five years perhaps China's armies might be sufficiently well equipped to resist successfully any further aggression on the part of her ambitious neighbour. Would Japan wait till then ?—that was the question. We now know the answer. Japan has struck again, this time at the very heart of China, and the Chinese national Government has been forced to fight for its very existence. The tragedy is that if the armies of Chiang Kai Shek are crushed in the present conflict, the good work of the last ten years may be destroyed—plunging China once more into an orgy of civil war and revolution.

On returning from China, I have been asked by a well-known Irish economist : " What sort of people are the Chinese ? . . . Can you make anything of Chinese politics ? " I have just endeavoured to answer these two questions as simply as possible. To avoid further complicating an already complex question, I have abstained from mention of certain forces and events which undoubtedly have played a big part in recent Chinese history, but which are not essential to a gentleman's knowledge of modern Chinese politics—I refer especially to the various dissensions in the Kuomintang (the National Party) and to the Shanghai incident of 1932, in which General Tsai Ting Kai, now in command of the Chinese forces defending Shanghai distinguished himself.

Foreigners, who are continually reading in the newspapers of civil war in China, frequently express the opinion that the Chinese are unable to govern themselves and that the Great Powers should step in and divide up the country between them. But China is well able to rule herself ; on that point I have no doubt. All that is necessary is that her neighbours should cease interfering in her affairs. If allowed to develop as she has been doing in recent years, she is bound sooner or later to attain to the status of a Great Power ; and a powerful China, with her long-standing tradition of pacificism, might ultimately prove to be the chief guarantee of peace in the Far East. Alas ! Japan seems to think otherwise.

THOMAS FLEMING

THE WORK OF THE IRISH MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION

BY R. DUDLEY EDWARDS, D.LITT.

THE Irish Manuscripts Commission was established by government warrant in October 1928 " to report on . . . collections of manuscripts and papers of literary, historical and general interest relating to Ireland, . . . to advise as to . . . the preservation and publication of such manuscripts . . . , and for the collection of any such . . . as may be in danger of being lost or obliterated. 2. To prepare . . . and supervise the execution of programmes of work to be undertaken in (*a*) the preparation and publication of calendars and catalogues of such manuscripts . . . , (*b*) the editing . . . of hitherto unpublished . . . manuscripts relating to Ireland . . . , (*c*) the publication of photographic facsimiles of important codices . . . , (*d*) the revision and republication of important works already published but now out of print or difficult of access." Some years before the setting up of the Commission, in an article appearing in *Studies*, Professor Eoin MacNeill made an eloquent appeal for the establishment of an institution to report on and publish the manuscript materials of Irish history. It is therefore fitting that in this journal should appear a survey of the work already carried out by the body which was set up subsequent to that article.

The last century saw the issue of many series of publications of historical records in all the leading countries of the world. Following the example of Germany, an official series was embarked upon in England and served to supply historical texts for students of British and Irish history. After the organisation of the Public Record Office for the use of scholars, another important series commenced with the appearance of the first volume of the Record Publications. Particular interests were provided for by the activities of regional societies depending on local support and catering for the needs of purely local history. The importance of these publications to the study of history would be difficult to exaggerate. Valuable studies had appeared at an earlier date, but the publication of official records and other previously unedited material brought about a new epoch in historical work.

In this regard it is instructive to consider the effects upon historical studies in England of the diffusion of this new material. For the first time a deep, an intensive, and an impersonal examination into the national history was commenced—that it was still Whig and Protestant need not concern us. From the original documents Samuel Rawson Gardiner pieced together his monumental studies in the history of seventeenth century England ; from an unrivalled knowledge of medieval chronicles and original documents Bishop Stubbs prepared himself for the writing of his famous Constitutional History, which has recently

been described as the foundation of the "now almost re-edified structure of medieval England." Irish historical studies were less fortunate. Considering how extensive were its manuscript materials, Irish history did not figure largely in the programme of historical publications. In the first place, it was not of particular interest to British officials and British historians; in the second place, it was in accordance with nineteenth century policy that little stimulus should be given to the study of any branch of history which might conceivably arouse undesirable national aspirations. Irish history might, however, occupy the attention of private and semi-private literary societies, and accordingly it is to these we are indebted for the greater number of the historical publications of the last century.

As a direct consequence of this dearth of published sources, it is only within the last quarter of a century that there has appeared any considerable body of work attaining to modern standards of historical scholarship. Early Irish history had depended almost entirely upon a few historical texts in faulty editions. For the medieval period, apart from occasional documents and chronicles, there was virtually nothing available. Ireland has, therefore, had to wait until the twentieth century for her medieval historians. The modern period has been somewhat better served, thanks to the publications of the nineteenth century societies, but it cannot be said that modern Irish history has been satisfactorily mapped out for the student.

The activities of the British Historical Manuscripts Commission afford an apparent analogy to those of the Irish body. It was established in 1869 to investigate and report on historical material in family and institutional collections, and in the course of its existence it has produced some two hundred invaluable publications, many of which incidentally contain material of importance to Irish history. The scope of that body, however, is strictly confined to the publication and calendaring of this type of documents.

The requirements of an Irish historical commission are necessarily more extensive. Not merely has much leeway to be made up in the publication of manuscript sources, but an effort has to be made to provide the student with other forms of material which, in the case of English history, are made available to him through the activities of a multitude of specialised societies and institutions. In virtue of this it falls to the lot of the Irish Manuscripts Commission to ventilate much incidental information from time to time in its periodical publication, *Analecta Hibernica*. In this it is discharging an obligation which should properly fall on a scientific journal of Irish historical studies, which would be the counterpart of the *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*. Secondly, it undertakes the publication of works which are aids to the investigation of historical documents, such as

Y. M. Goblet's *A topographical index of the parishes and townlands of Ireland in Sir William Petty's MSS. Barony Maps* and Séamas Pender's "A Guide to Irish Geneological Collections" (*Analecta Hibernica*, No. 7). Thirdly, it undertakes the publication in facsimile of certain important manuscripts which would necessarily be of less utility in printed form; it will be sufficient to quote such undertakings as *The Oldest Fragments of the Senchas Már* and *Lebor Mór Lecain*. Fourthly, it concerns itself with the republication of standard historical works no longer available to the public, an activity which has not hitherto been undertaken by any similar institution in England. In this manner, and by the reflex process, there has been reproduced in facsimile the printed collection of documents known as *Les Négociations de M. le Comte d'Avaux en Irelande*.

It is only to be expected, however, that the Commission should be chiefly concerned with the publication of historical documents and of reports on and guides to important collections. Here again the sphere of its activities is more extensive than that of the British Commission, which does not concern itself with the manuscripts of the Public Record Office or with those of the British Museum, as access to the documents preserved in these institutions is permitted to every properly qualified student. Furthermore, a great part of the records of the London Record Office are printed in abstract form in the volumes regularly issued by the authority of the Master of the Rolls, while much of the British Museum material finds its way into print in the publications of such societies as the Camden Society.

The student of Irish history, however, is at a loss through this restriction on the activities of the British Commission. As the best collection of printed books relating to Irish history is located in Dublin, it follows that Dublin is properly the centre for Irish historical studies. The location in London of the Public Record Office and of the British Museum is a handicap to him, and as printed calendars are at the best a competent guide to the manuscripts, he cannot but be at a disadvantage in comparison with the student of English history normally located in London. Moreover, since the Treaty there have been few British record publications of any considerable value to Irish history. The *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland* series, terminated in 1911 and will not be resumed, although abstracts of only a small section of the documents in this considerable collection have been printed. The *Calendar of Papal Letters* series is also to be terminated, as the majority of the abstracts refer to Ireland and Scotland and not to England. Similarly, the Irish material in the British Museum will no longer be included in publication schemes of those English societies which print documents. The necessity for a wider sphere of activity for the Irish Manuscripts Commission is therefore apparent.

Some impression of the extent of the undertakings of the Commission since its inception in 1928 may be formed by considering the different groups referred to above. Through the kindness of the Chairman and Secretary I am in a position to refer to works which are as yet but in process of production. The method of grouping adopted necessitates reference to certain works in more than one category.

Considering first the lesser-known activities of the Commission, we may refer to the publication of information regarding the documents of Irish history. The first number of *Analecta* was particularly useful and the section " Correspondence " brings together short reports from important repositories in various parts of Great Britain and Ireland on Irish historical manuscripts. Of particular interest is the report of Dr. Chart, Deputy Keeper of the P.R.O., Northern Ireland, telling of the plans which are being carried out by him to collect material. There is also a note on the valuable Commonwealth collections of John P. Prendergast, which are now in the King's Inns Library, Dublin. The third number has a correction of British Museum MS. Harleian 4297, which had been wrongly catalogued, and the sixth has a note on historical collections of Ignatius Jennings. Reference may also be made to Dr. Flower's report in the second number, which is a useful introductory guide to Irish material in the British Museum ; to Fr. A. Gwynn's prefatory note to his " Documents Relating to the Irish in the West Indies " (in the fourth number), which brings together much useful knowledge on the repositories of these papers ; to my introduction to the Chichester Letter Book (1612-14), to be published in the eighth number, giving information regarding the historical collections of Archbishop King and their dispersion ; and to reports by Mr. Charles McNeill and by Mr. Robert C. Simington on Down Survey Maps in private custody, also to appear in the eighth number.

The topographical index to Petty (compiled by M. Goblet) and the " Guide to Irish Genealogical Collections " (compiled by Mr. Pender) have already been mentioned. These volumes constitute the contribution of the Commission to Irish historical studies in the second category denominated above, and are in themselves a strong argument for the publication of further works in this category.

In the work of facsimile reproduction *The Oldest Fragments of the Senchas Már* and *Lebor Mór Lecain* have already been mentioned. The first named has already appeared, and the second—together with " Documents from the Book of Armagh," " Leabhar Uí Máine," the " Book of Lismore," and R.I.A. MS. 23 N. 10—is in process of reproduction. These valuable manuscripts will henceforth be available to scholars in the form which is best suited to a proper investigation of documents where access to the original is not always possible.

The reproduction of printed books by what is known as the reflex

process is one which will commend itself to all students. Valuable works of which few copies exist can thus be freely and cheaply circulated, and the possibilities of this process in building up the libraries both of individual scholars and of schools and colleges can readily be visualised. In this regard, however, the need for caution will be appreciated, as the tendency to reproduce scarce works without much thought as to the authoritative nature of their content might easily lead to serious harm were such books to fall into the hands of uncritical students or school teachers. The Commission has accordingly been very restrained in the number of the works it has hitherto sanctioned for publication in this category. *Les Négociations de M. d'Avaux*, the *Book of Fenagh* (edited by W. M. Hennessy and D. H. Kelly in 1875) and Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum* are primarily for scholars, but the *Annals of Lough Cé* should find a larger public and, used with some caution, would be a valuable addition to any school library. Of these undertakings only the first named has actually appeared.

Finally, we must consider the greatest category of all, into which falls the work which must necessarily be regarded as the main function of the Commission, the publication in printed form of documents *in extenso* and in abstract. The valuable contribution to Irish studies which has been made by the works in this category will best be appreciated by grouping publications under the names of their respective repositories. Taking first the two main institutions outside the scope of the British Commission, the Public Record Office of England and the British Museum, I may mention from the former the "Miscellanea of the Chancery, London" 1216-1366 (*Analecta Hibernica*, No. 1); "Documents relating to the Irish in the West Indies" (mainly from the Colonial State Papers and allied sources, but ranging over the collections in all the official archives of countries in contact with the locality under survey (*ib.* No. 4); and the following as yet unpublished: "Documents of Irish interest in the Letter-Book of Sir Francis Walsingham," "Registra Terrarum Utriusque Lanthonie in Hibernia," edited by H. G. Richardson, "Proceedings before the King's Council in England relating to Ireland" 1200-1400 (from Council records, of which some are in the British Museum), edited by Mr. H. G. Richardson and Dr. George Sayles, "English Financial Records for Irish History, 1461-1558" and "Bills and Statutes of the Parliament of Ireland, 1485-1543," edited by Dr. D. B. Quinn, and Mr. Newport White's edition of the returns of the commissioners for the surrender of Irish monasteries under Henry VIII.

British Museum material is represented by Mr. Herbert Wood's edition of the continuation of the Chronicle of Ireland 1584-1608 (attributed to a son of Lord Deputy Perrott), a useful check on the Chronicles of William Farmer for the same period, Dr. Flower's calendar

(in *Analecta*, No. 2) of the Kilkenny Chronicle, Miss Lilian Tate's "Letter-Book of Richard Talbot" (*ib.* No. 4), and Mr. Martin Freeman's "Composiccion Booke of Conought" —all of which have been published.

Among other manuscript repositories the Bodleian Library figures largely. Mr. Charles McNeill contributes to the first number of *Analecta* a report on recent acquisitions relating to Ireland which had not been noticed in the published catalogues. This is followed by a calendar of the relevant volumes in the Rawlinson collection and continued in *Analecta*, No. 2. The same number also contains Lord Chancellor Gerrard's long memorandum of the state of Ireland (1577-8), embodying many important documents, and in the following number appear the Ulster Survey on the eve of the Plantation (1608) and Latin letters of the seventeenth century relating mainly to Irish ecclesiastical history. In the fourth number are published the orders of the English parliament to the standing committee on Irish affairs, 1642-44, while in three separate volumes appear Professor Hogan's edition of "Letters and Papers relating to the Irish Rebellion," 1642-46, Mr. Charles McNeill's "Registrum de Kilmainham," 1326-1350, and Dr. Eric St. John Brooks's "Register of the Hospital of S. John the Baptist, Dublin," 1200-1480 (an unusually fine monument of medieval ecclesiastical history).

The London Guildhall library is represented by a number of papers relating to the Londoners' part in the Ulster Plantation and forming part of a contribution by Dr. T. W. Moody to the eighth number of *Analecta*. Continental sources have also begun to be explored: to *Analecta* (No. 6) Fr. Brendan Jennings, O.F.M., contributes the text of the Mooney MS. "De Provincia Hiberniae S. Francisci," from the original in the Bibliothèque Royale of Brussels, and to the same issue and from the same library comes a list of Irish Franciscan foundations (in the handwriting of Brother Michael O'Clery), edited by Fr. Joseph Moloney, O.F.M. France has not yet been directly represented, although we have been promised the results of investigations carried out by the Marquis MacSwiney of Mashanaglass, in the archives of the War Department. *Analecta* No. 11, however, will include a diary relative to the French expedition to Killala from the Municipal Library of Brest, which Miss Nuala Costello has edited, while at some later date will appear Irish documents from the Register of Cardinal Pole, which is now in the Municipal Library of Douay. Further Franciscan papers—from St. Isidore's College at Rome—were presented by Fr. Jennings in *Analecta* No. 6, and Sweden (Upsala University) is represented by an unprinted description of Ireland by Philip O'Sullivan Bear, described in the same issue by Fr. Gwynn. From the United States comes a valuable catalogue of documents relating to Ireland in the

Ellesmere collection in the Huntingdon Library, California, to be published in *Analecta*, No. 8.

Coming to Irish institutions, our largest manuscript repository, Trinity College, is represented by the facsimile publication *The Oldest Fragments of the Senchas Már*, part of the material in *Genealogical Tracts I*, edited by Toirdhealbhach Ó Raithbheartaigh, M.A., and by two substantial contributions to the next issue of *Analecta*, "The Letter-book of Sir Arthur Chichester, 1612-1614" and Dr. Moody's edition of "Ulster Plantation Papers." Three volumes of *Depositions concerning the Rebellion* 1641 . . . *to* 1660 are with the printers for some time.

The Royal Irish Academy Library is particularly noteworthy for its excellent collection of manuscripts in the Irish language. Many of these are of great historical importance, and it is therefore to be expected that this collection will figure largely in the future publications of the Commission. Several manuscripts are included in *Genealogical Tracts I* already referred to above; at least one text of *Lebor Bretnach*, which Dr. Van Hamel has edited from all extant versions, is from this repository; four volumes, the Book of Lecan, the Book of Armagh, the Book of Uí Máine and MS. 23.N.10, are in course of reproduction by the collotype process; Tórna's edition of *Leabhar Cloinne Aodha Buidhe* has already appeared; Mr. Pender's edition of the O'Clery genealogical volume will appear in the ninth issue of *Analecta*; and much of the material for the same editor's "Déssi Genealogies" is from this library. Among the works in process of printing are *An Leabhar Muimhneach* edited by Tórna (mainly genealogical material from this repository), the "Census of Ireland, 1659," the copy of which in this library has been collated with the original in the possession of the Marquess of Lansdowne, and another diary relating to the French invasion of Killala in 1798—to be edited for *Analecta* No. 11 by Miss Costello.

The National Library of Ireland possesses a growing collection of Irish historical manuscripts, which is every year becoming more valuable through the munificent policy of the government in making funds available for the purchase of important manuscripts which come into the market. The nucleus of the collection is the Harris MSS., purchased in the days of the pre-Union parliament and calendared by Mr. Charles McNeill in *Analecta*, No. 6. *Analecta* No. 3 has a report on manuscripts recently acquired from the Phillipps collection, while in future issues will appear the Forbes letters (eighteenth century financial papers edited by Dr. T. J. Kiernan) and a report on O'Ferrall's "Linea Antiqua" (genealogical). Particular volumes will be devoted to the "Leinster Letters" (associated with the immediate relatives of Lord Edward Fitzgerald), Dowdall and Peppard Deeds (a valuable collection going back to the thirteenth century), and the Fingal MS. "A Light to the Blind" (Jacobite War).

There remain a number of institutions represented by individual works. From the Armagh Public Library is to come the " Register of Tristernagh," edited by two students of the late Miss M. V. Clarke, and from the Church of Ireland archives Mr. Newport White edits Archbishop Alen's " Repertorium Viride " for *Analecta*, No. 9. Kilkenny municipal archives are represented by *Liber Primus Kilkenniensis;* Galway by the Documents of the Warden of St. Nicholas (for *Analecta*, No. 10); Marsh's library by a report on the collection of Annals put together by Dudley Loftus; the Quit Rent Office by the Civil Survey of 1654, three volumes of which have already appeared under the careful editorship of Mr. Simington; St. Colman's College, Fermoy, by " Geinealaighe Fearmanach " (*Analecta*, No. 3); St. Michan's, Dublin, by a forthcoming report on a valuable series of Tithe Applotment Books; University College, Cork, by " Cín Lae Ó Mealláin " (*Analecta*, No. 3); and the sister college in Dublin by Mac Fir Bhisigh's Great Book of Genealogies (to be edited by Mr. M. V. Duignan, M.A.).

Finally, we may refer to publications based upon manuscripts still in private custody. The most important collection in this group is undoubtedly that of the Marquess of Ormonde, represented by five worthy volumes, three edited by Professor Curtis (*Calendar of Ormond Deeds*, vols. I-III) and two by Mr. Newport White (*Red Book of Ormond* and *Irish Monastic and Episcopal Deeds*). The " Book of Lismore," appearing in facsimile form, is in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire; the original manuscript of the " Census of Ireland, 1659 " belongs to the Marquess of Lansdowne, and two Fitzwilliam collections are owned respectively by Lady Mabel Annesley and by Mr. G. Wentworth Fitzwilliam. Lastly, from the family archives of Prince Trivulzi at Milan has come the original copy of " Commentarius Rinuccinianus," edited by Fr. Stanislaus Kavanagh, O.M.Cap.

Irish history is already deeply indebted to the Manuscripts Commission, but it must be remembered that its productions are entirely dependent on the proposals put forward by individual scholars and students. There are few trained editors available and willing to undertake the necessary work, and it is therefore not surprising that editorial methods are not always uniform. It seems an obvious criticism that the publication programme is without any definite plan, but the Commission has no authority to employ and finance an expert whose business it would be to make a survey of the unprinted sources of Irish history with a view to publication in a systematic manner. Until this is feasible, the policy at present in operation must continue and suffice. That it operates efficiently will be obvious to anyone who has laboured through the list of undertakings enumerated in this article. Irish scholars have every reason to be grateful to the Manuscripts Commission.

R. Dudley Edwards

CATHOLICS AND PEACE

A Conference in Dublin, August 1937

BY STEPHEN J. BROWN, S.J.

In July of last year the Catholic Council of International Relations convened in London a Conference of Catholics belonging to different nationalities for the purpose of discussing certain international problems in the light of Catholic principles. The main subject chosen was "The Task of Catholics in the Maintenance of European Order." Valuable papers were read, views were exchanged, and certain conclusions were reached. The Conference proved so successful that it was decided to hold another in the following year, and the venue fixed upon was Dublin. This second Catholic International Conference was held from August 5th to 9th. A brief account of it may be of interest.

The story of its organisation, interesting no doubt to those who took part in it, need not detain us here. It will suffice to say that two meetings of the International Committee appointed in London took place—the one in Paris, the other at the Abbey of St. André, Lophem-les-Bruges, in Belgium. Early in 1937 an Irish organizing committee set to work. Its functions were confined to the Irish side of the Conference, the choice of Rapporteurs being left to the International Committee and the summoning of the foreign visitors to the C.C.I.R. It is important to note that these visitors and, indeed, all who took part in the Conference did so in their private capacity as persons interested in, and well-informed about, international questions. They were not, properly speaking, delegates of their various countries.

Moreover, the Conference itself was of a private character, as it was felt that, in the absence of the Press and of the general public, speakers would feel freer to state their real views on these difficult and delicate problems. But observers really interested in the subjects discussed were freely admitted, and communiqués were daily issued to the Press. A word of very sincere appreciation is due to the Press of all shades for its friendly attitude to the Conference and for the prominence given to the latter's proceedings.

The general title given to the subject chosen for study was "Catholics and the Organisation of Peace," a subject sufficiently wide to allow the discussion of many aspects of international relations.

The Conference opened with a Reception held in University College, which Cardinal MacRory honoured by his presence. His Eminence delivered an address which we should, were that possible, reproduce here in full. We must content ourselves with saying that he endorsed wholeheartedly the general objects of the Conference—which were to promote peace by creating a Catholic public opinion in favour of international justice and peace, to establish contacts between Catholics

in different countries, and to co-ordinate the knowledge and experience of all so as to bring to bear on any question of international morality the full weight of Catholicism the world over. His Eminence asked how it came about that, though the plain people of all countries long for peace, they cannot have it. The Cardinal attributed this to the mutual distrust, fear, and jealousy of governments and politicians and to the deliberate setting aside of moral principles in international relations. The Cardinal suggested international agreements whereby the people should be allowed to vote on international issues before their rulers took any irrevocable step in the direction of war, all press propaganda being in the meantime prohibited. The Cardinal went on to declare that for his part he had never had much confidence in the League of Nations at Geneva, but looked for the promotion of the cause of peace to that other league of nations whose centre is in Rome.

In the course of the Conference five papers were read and discussed. The first four at least involved fundamental principles and were of so comprehensive a character that the discussion tended to range over the entire field of international relations. The Conference was so designed as to begin with the primary question of whether there be an international society which is natural and therefore divine in origin, as opposed to artificial, contractual, and man-made, and, if there be, what are the basic principles on which it rests. This question was studied in a paper by Père Yves de la Brière, S.J. In his absence it was read by Père Delos, O.P., who added a contribution of his own. Having recognised the existence of a natural international society involving duties and rights on the part of the nations which compose it, the Conference went on to consider the existing institution which gives or claims to give a juridical form to this international society—*viz.*, the League of Nations. The question as to whether this institution can be made fully effective or satisfactorily reformed was discussed in a paper by Père A. Muller, S.J., of Antwerp. The third and fourth papers were concerned with popular movements and prevalent ideologies or frames of mind which, quite independently of the League of Nations, affect the harmonious relations between nations. The Conference concluded with a paper in which Mr. P. J. S. Serarrens, Secretary-General of the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions, put forward proposals for a Peace Congress to be held at The Hague next summer.

A mere précis of these important papers would fail to do them justice and would hardly satisfy the reader. Moreover, it is hoped to publish them later in full, together with a résumé of the discussions. It will, in the circumstances, be more satisfactory, perhaps, to set down some of the leading ideas which were put forward at the Conference, whether in the papers or in the course of the discussions.

The principle underlying the entire Conference, as it seemed to me,

was this : that as Civil Society, now almost universally represented by the Nation-State, includes the family and the individual and must respect their rights, but transcends them, so there is an International Society which includes the nations and must respect their rights and their integrity, but which transcends them ; that, further, this International Society arises out of an order of things ordained by God and is therefore *natural*. It follows that its existence creates certain obligations and duties on the part of the nations which compose it. This principle was fully expounded by Pères Yves de la Brière and Delos. Père Muller drew the further consequence that, as the existing League of Nations represents International Society—is in fact that Society in a concrete and juridical form—the nations are morally bound to belong to it and to accept the obligations imposed by the Covenant.

Not all of the delegates were prepared to follow Father Muller as far as this conclusion, holding, as some did, with Professor O'Sullivan, that the basis of the present League of Nations is contractual and membership of it optional. But all or nearly all the speakers accepted the League, not so much as the realisation, however partial, of an ideal, but rather as a fact to be reckoned with and an institution to be made the best of. They were prepared to mend it ; for all would admit that it needs mending, if not in regard to the principles on which it is based, at least as regards their application. But they were not prepared to end it, seeing that there is no alternative but pre-war international anarchy. And, as Father Muller pointed out, any new League or Society that men might attempt to build must be built on much the same principles of natural law and justice, and with much the same materials—*viz.*, the nations of the world.

That being so, we must take the League as we find it and try to better it. All its shortcomings must be fully recognised and its failures, where it has failed, candidly admitted. But no good purpose is served by irrelevant objections, false charges, and excessive expectations. We are told, for instance, that it is a " pagan " institution, that it must be ruled out of court because it does not include the Papacy as a State Member, that it is a machine invented by the victors in the world war to keep the vanquished in subjection for ever, that it is utterly worthless because it has failed on several crucial occasions, that it is controlled by Freemasonry or, alternatively, by Communism, and so forth. As against all this, various speakers pointed out that the Holy See has never expressed any wish to be a State Member and could not become so compatibly with its dignity, its status, and its mission in the world ; that, as Father Muller insisted, a great deal more idealism went to the framing of the Covenant than its critics are willing to admit—though, as it finally emerged, it was inevitably a compromise ; that though Catholics had little or no hand in the genesis of the League,

nevertheless it answers in the main to the requirements outlined by Benedict XV in 1917 and embodies, if not indeed supernatural truths nor any explicit recognition of Christianity (how could it do so since it was framed for Turkey and Japan as much as for so-called Christian states ?), principles of natural justice such as Christians must accept.

Furthermore, many people, as Professor O'Sullivan pointed out, are disappointed with the League because they expected too much from it, expecting it to do in sixteen or seventeen years for international society what national societies have scarcely achieved in the course of centuries. Again, ought not its failures to be debited as much to the selfish recalcitrance of certain of its State members and the selfish aloofness of others who refused to enter it as to any intrinsic defects in its principles or its structure ?

Father Muller contended that not only had the League been successful in many instances in averting war by the application of the methods set forth in the Covenant, but it had made a certain amount of progress in its own development—for instance, by reaching a workable definition of the unjust aggressor and by the outlawry in 1928 of war as an instrument of national policy. Reform, nevertheless, has not yet gone far enough. On the one hand, certain articles of the Covenant, what we may call the dynamic articles, have not yet been put into force. On the other hand, its unitary and egalitary principles need modification. In other words (1) the League ought to be partially decentralized by means of regional groupings—*e.g.*, Western Europe, the Americas, Eastern Asia. (2) Inequalities between nations ought to be more frankly recognized, obligations and burdens (such as carrying out of sanctions) being more equally proportioned according to capacities and to interests. Again, the League must bring itself up to date by recognising and adjusting itself to the changes, social, political, and psychological, that have come about since its foundation.

But, as several speakers insisted, in advance of or at all events concurrently with any such reforms of the League there must be a reform in men's minds. The League cannot afford to go very far in advance of public opinion. It is here that the Church and Catholic organizations can do much to further the cause of peace—*viz.*, by educating public opinion, first that of their co-religionists, then that of the public generally. As Père Delos said, we believe that in Christian principles we have the true basis of peace, Pax Christi, and the true basis of the brotherhood of mankind.

The great trouble of our times is that in these matters men are far from right-minded. Indeed they would seem to be drifting ever further away from truth and sanity. And so an examination of contemporary tendencies away from international friendship and peace was much to the point in this Conference. It was undertaken in two papers : the

one by Mr. John Eppstein, the other by Professor Mendizabal Villalba of Oviedo. They showed that if Communism is a menace to peace by its anti-nationalism and its efforts to stir up civil war in every country, exaggerated nationalism whether in the form of Italian Fascism, German National-Socialism, or in any similar form is likewise a menace to international peace. These authoritarian régimes, originally a reaction against Communist and socialist disintegration, tend in their turn to provoke Communist reactions, and Communism has cleverly kept before the eyes of the working classes a bogey which it calls Fascism, an excellent substitute for the outworn "bourgeois" and "capitalist" scarecrows. There is, of course, only one authentic Fascism, the Italian. Between it and—say—National-Socialism, also dubbed Fascism, there is a much greater difference in mentality and methods than there is between National-Socialism and the Bolshevism of Stalin, a point which Professor O'Sullivan made clear at the Conference. Indeed few things have done more to confuse men's minds and to arouse their passions than the indiscriminate use outside Russia, Italy, and Germany of terms such as Fascism and Communism as epithets of political abuse. For the Comintern and its adepts everything that is hostile to Communism is "Fascist," while in certain quarters simple social reforms have been greeted with cries of "Communism." The confusion is increased by the fact that Communism is ready to sail under any colours that happen to suit at the moment—democracy, peace, nationalism, anti-imperialism, anything you please. It lives by camouflage. One of the cleverest and for a time most successful of these camouflages—the "Rassemblement Universel pour la Paix"— was unmasked by Mr. Eppstein in the course of a paper which it would be difficult to praise too highly for its lucid, balanced, and thoroughly well-informed content. It was what might be expected from the author of the *Catholic Tradition of the Law of Nations* (Burns Oates) and *A Catholic Looks at the League* (Oxford : Catholic Social Guild, 1937, 2*d.*).

In the fifth and last paper, Mr. P. J. S. Serrarens, Secretary-General of the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions, came before the Conference with a proposal to hold at the Hague next year a Catholic Peace Congress on a large scale—not a mere mass demonstration, but an assembly with definite subjects of study and definite aims. The Conference fell in with this proposal.

I must make here a brief allusion to certain suggestions and ideas which cropped up, as it were, in the course of the debates. There was, for instance, the valuable suggestion from Dr. Rewcastle that, if the masses are to be stirred, there must be an appeal to emotion and imagination. Catholicism has a social gospel and the true principles of peace, charity, and international justice. But if this gospel and these principles are to appeal to a public indifferent to logical argument and

cold reasoning, we need to bring into play something of the nature of salesmanship or showmanship, even if that sort of thing may appear to us a little vulgar. On the other hand, Mr. Desmond Fitzgerald stressed the point that Christianity, humanly speaking and as compared with Communism, is at a permanent disadvantage in appealing to the masses ; for Christianity can promise no Utopia, no heaven-on-earth. It has doctrines hard to believe and a moral code hard for human nature to live. It is itself a narrow way, and the world is no paradise but a place of trial. Father Gerald Vann, O.P., besides other contributions to the discussions, put forward a plea for a campaign of prayer. He has founded in England the Union of Prayer for Peace (Blackfriars School, Laxton, Stamford). Other Speakers, notably M. Allard and Père Muller, S.J., both from Belgium, stressed the spiritual factor in peace, a peace which is not a mere absence of wars but an atmosphere in which the Christian life can flourish. Rev. Dr. McQuaid, C.S.Sp., put forward a resolution expressing the conviction that the surest hope of peace and the soundest way of promoting it lies in true Catholic education on the lines of Pope Plus XI's admirable Encyclical on Christian education. At a luncheon given to the overseas visitors at Clongowes Wood College, the Rector, Father Fergal McGrath, S.J., enlarged on a similar theme, stressing particularly the need of bringing historical text-books into harmony with true Christian principles of peace. One further point—Mr. F. W. Ryan dwelt upon the importance for Catholics of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation founded by the League of Nations with a view to fostering friendly international understanding in academic and intellectual circles. Catholics, at least in France, are already actively co-operating with this institution, which has its centre in Paris, but much more could be done in this direction.

The Conference had a social side which, having regard to its purpose —the promotion of international good will—was something more than a mere interlude in its work. Besides the opening Reception to which allusion has been made, there was a pleasant At Home at Blackrock College, at which were present his Excellency the Nuncio Apostolic and President de Valera. Another At Home was given in the Central Catholic Library. And visits were paid to Clongowes Wood College and to St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, at both of which institutions the visitors were hospitably entertained. Besides these, further opportunities were afforded of interchanging ideas in friendly conversation.

At the close of the Conference an agreed statement of conclusions was drawn up and handed to the Press, which published it in full on August 10. Considerations of space forbid their textual reproduction, but the substance of them has been embodied in the foregoing pages.

STEPHEN J. BROWN

REVIEWS

Religion

ETUDES SUR LA PSYCHOLOGIE DES MYSTIQUES. By Joseph Maréchal, S.J., Docteur en Science. Tome Second. Bruxelles : L'Edition Universelle. 1937. 50 frs.

It would need a large volume to criticise these studies of mystical topics. Père Maréchal is one of the most subtle and elusive of Catholic thinkers and scholars, one of the most challenging minds one can encounter. The first volume, published in 1924 (Beyaert), promised a sequel which was eagerly looked forward to by all serious students of mystical doctrines. We owe a debt to those importunate friends who forced this great Jesuit philosopher to publish in collected form the various attempts he had made in lectures and essays to fulfil his promise. We have now the collected thoughts of Père Maréchal on mystical phenomena and mystical writings, but not his own completed thought—that is suggested rather than asserted.

It is difficult to divine Père Maréchal's system, and I may very possibly have misread him ; but he appears to me to divide mystical experience roughly into three great divisions : (1) Minor Mysticism, reducible to the conceptual order and basically humanistic, including the acquired contemplation of Catholic spirituality, various types of Quietism, Christian and non-Christian, Sufism, Buddhism, Yogi Vedantism, and other Eastern techniques of contemplation ; (2) Major Mysticism, specifically Christian, of a super-conceptual or angelic order, involving the infusion by divine grace of a superhuman knowledge and mode of understanding akin to that of pure intelligences—the infused contemplation of Catholic mystics, probably covering the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Mansions of St. Teresa's *Interior Castle* ; (3) Maximal Mysticism, where God manifests Himself to the specially privileged soul almost in the same fashion as He manifested Himself to His servants Moses and Saint Paul.

Père Maréchal devotes an immense amount of erudition joined to the keenest philosophical acumen to demonstrate the possibility of this sub-facial vision of God and to link it up with the descriptions great mystical saints in every age have given of their most sublime experiences. This forms the most questionable part of these studies ; the doctrine of St. Thomas seems to me to be stretched beyond all reason. "No man can look upon My Face and live." But this is an immense topic for the speculative theologian, and Père Maréchal has found in it an irresistible attraction.

As regards (2) Major Mysticism, I gather by hardy inference that Père Maréchal would prefer Rodriguez to Père Surin, but I may be grossly mistaken. His outlook is not that of a director but of a professor, and he gives me the impression of being more than a little anti-

mystical. If one makes a literary cult of Plotinus and regards him as the Father of Western Mysticism, one cannot take mysticism very seriously as a mode of spiritual experience. There is ever the dread of finding "Mahomet, God and Shiva changing pickets in our head," like Kipling's sergeant!

Père Maréchal's treatment of what I have called (1) Minor Mysticism interested me most. He suggests a theory which is really genial, illuminating and thought-provoking. Given a religious or religiose state of consciousness capable of organisation into a global unity by strenuous meditation and mortification, a global unity with a fixed centre, a system of religion or philosophy, and trim it down into the sub-conscious by a suitable negative technique (*via remotionis*). You will first of all detach the carnal elements of sensations and animal appetites, all phantasms and images, then all limited concepts. Then you will reduce the grand ideas, leaving only the central notion of God, the Absolute, Yahve, Allah, the Paratman, Karma, etc., as your ultimate thought, and then by a final kenosis get rid of your proprietorship. Then the maieutic power of your negative technique will bring the "massa damnata" of your global religious system out of the womb of the subconscious into the clear consciousness, not as a subjective system but as an object thinkable in itself. There lies the supreme idolatry: we "have made unto ourselves a graven image"! There is the real poison of Quietism. I wonder if Père Maréchal has seen, in his suggested system, all its possibilities from the *Tatwamasi* to possession by a self-created demon! It seems to me to explain all the fanaticisms; the psychic Frankenstein has made a monster to his own image and likeness!

Most of these studies are in the order of literary and philosophic exposition. Père Maréchal has covered an immense territory, and his studies are a priceless collection of texts for the serious student. "Nihil tetegit quod non illuminavit." JOHN HOWLEY

THE HOLY GHOST and His Work in Souls. By Rev. Edward Leen, C.S.Sp., M.A., D.D. London: Sheed & Ward. 1937. Pp.vii +341. 7s. 6d.

By his books, of which this is the third, Dr. Leen has put the English speaking Catholic world in his debt. In *Progress through Mental Prayer*, the first of his works, he has traced with a sure hand the *itinerarium mentis ad Deum*. *In the Likeness of Christ* is a sympathetic and profoundly spiritual study of the Divine Exemplar. In the present work he treats of the Holy Ghost as He is in the Divine Essence, and as He is and works by grace in the souls of men.

Dr. Leen divides the history of mankind since the Fall into three periods, characterised by the three modes of God's love, and he studies

the action of the Holy Ghost in each. The first period, that before the coming of Christ, is characterised by the manifestation of God's infinite lovableness, and by His merciful love for fallen and sinful man. The second epoch, that of our Lord's sojourn on earth, sees the establishment of a divinely human love between man and God made Man. In the third, from the day of Pentecost onwards, the Holy Ghost is poured abroad in the world as the fruit and reward of the Passion, and man by that Spirit is rendered divine. These divisions, as the author points out, regard rather the order of causation than that of time, though there is a general correspondence between the two orders. Sanctifying grace was in the world before the Incarnation—was not Mary full of grace?—but though antecedent to the Passion in time, it was none the less the fruit of the Passion.

Deep and subtle questions of Philosophy and Theology present themselves in the course of the work, and Dr. Leen shirks none of them. He examines each with a patient and leisurely thoroughness, going to its very roots. His power of exposition is remarkable, and he has always at command an abundance of illustrations, many of them notable for their combination of vividness, simplicity, and depth. We may instance his masterly and searching analysis, in Chapter I, of the idea of Good, with the correlative notion of Love, human and divine—an introduction to the study of the Holy Ghost as the Divine Love Subsistent. It would not be easy, in a popular exposition—and the book is not addressed to the learned alone—to be at once more simple, suggestive, and profound. No less remarkable is his examination in Chapter V of the idea of Life and in Chapter X of the cognate idea of Nature. From these there emerges the vast superiority of the life of grace, whose fountain and origin is the Holy Spirit, over any form of natural being, even over human life when in its highest manifestations it opens a window on the Godhead. In natural being there is a certain participation of the Divine Being, but only of what we may call the lowest form (*terminative*, as the theologians say) of the activity of God, that which has as its term the creation. But in the life of grace, by the action of the Holy Ghost within us, we are made sharers in God's very life, in the two characteristically divine activities: the Act by which He contemplates His own Essence, engendering the Word, and the Breath of Love of the Father and Son which is the Holy Ghost.

With so many difficult and delicate problems to treat, it is remarkable how well Dr. Leen has guarded his readers against erroneous impressions. Here and there, indeed, a turn of phrase might give an inattentive reader—and the book calls for very attentive reading—the idea that devotion to the Holy Ghost was something destined to replace and to supersede devotion to our Lord. No careful reader, indeed, would be likely to receive such an impression, particularly any reader

already familiar with *In the Likeness of Christ.* The Holy Ghost is " the Spirit of Jesus," a principle not of separation but of unity. By His operation Christ grows in us and we in Christ; we are made " one Spirit " with Him.

At times Dr. Leen strikes a note of pessimism, of what will seem to some an excessive insistence on the effects of Original Sin. There are sentences which could have come from Bérulle or Condren (saintly and excellent men), but could hardly have come from St. Francis de Sales. Is not the indictment of the modern world (in the Introduction), for instance, too sweeping? No doubt there are enormous and abundant evils. But, to take one example, is not the world, even the unbelieving world, learning to understand and to put in practice those ideas of human brotherhood and responsibility one for another, which express themselves in the care of the sick, the poor, the afflicted, the abnormal, criminals; ideals which trace their origin to Jesus Christ and were unknown in the world before His coming?

In his exegesis, on pp. 93-4, of our Lord's words: " It is expedient for you that I go," the author follows a not uncommon view. But to many the idea that " their too human and natural love for Him had to yield place to a love which was to be . . . infinitely higher "—in other words, that His continued bodily and visible presence would be an obstacle to their sanctification—seems harsh to the point of being hardly tolerable. And our Lord's saying needs no such gloss. Its true meaning is in fact given by Dr. Leen himself (p. 169) in words that could hardly be bettered: " The seed of the woman had fulfilled its promise. The devil had trodden that seed underfoot and crushed it into the earth. But there it had germinated in the Resurrection, the Ascension, and the *Right* to obtain of the Father the sending of the Second Paraclete." It was expedient that our Lord should go, not because His presence could interfere with a higher good, but because it was only through His going to His Passion and Death that that higher good could be attained.

The Holy Ghost is unmistakably the fruit of wide learning, long and fully digested, and of deep meditation on the things of the spirit. For all the homely simplicity of the style—sincerity rings in every line of it—it does not yield up all its treasures to a first or a second reading. It is a mine, we venture to prophesy, from which many spiritual teachers will quarry, to the great profit of their disciples and of themselves.

M. F. E.

A MODERN JOB SPEAKS WITH GOD. By Peter Lippert, S.J. London: Longmans. 1937. 7s. 6d. net.

THIS review must be in the nature of an *Ave atque Vale.* Fr. Peter Lippert died on the 18th December last at the early age of 57. And

this is, so far as we know, the first of his books to appear in an English translation. It is very remarkable that his books have not been translated before now, for he is a writer who undoubtedly has fully understood the needs of souls of our modern time. His "message," always expressed in exquisite German, simple, pure, artistic, was pre-eminently suited to men and women caught in the baffling meshes of the problems that have beset the after-war world of ours. He had an extraordinary delicacy of perception, combined with a great precision of expression, both of which enabled him to analyse and "pose" the many troubling questions which we all vaguely hear asking themselves in our inner consciousness. And although perhaps most of these questions must remain without a definitive and finally satisfying answer in this life, yet Fr. Lippert's books did the best that could be done: they left one content to wait in trust for the answer hereafter—"Thou shalt know hereafter"—that Christ has promised us.

No writer that we know of has so well interpreted, to educated but non-specialist laymen, the richness of our Catholic religion. This particular form of writing is much more common in Germany and France than it is in English-speaking countries. And Fr. Lippert had a very special gift that enabled him to give the fullest account of the deepest mysteries of theology in terms that could be understood by what the Germans call the Akademiker class. His book on the Church has come as a revelation to many, not only laymen but priests as well. It opened up vast regions of speculation and of practical applications to everyday life hitherto unsuspected. The six little booklets, deliberately written for university men and professional laymen, on the main treatises of theology are unique in their appeal and their power. Anyone who has read his account of *Die Gnaden Gottes* must go away with a new and much more vital appreciation of the supernatural life that wells up continually in the soul of everyone in the state of grace. He sometimes threw his message into the form of letters, vividly personal letters, well justifying the name of one of his books—*Von Seele zu Seele*. Always and everywhere there is found in his writings that solid core of hard intellectual reasoning characteristic of Catholic theology, but gracefully mingled with the gentlest of gentle emotion and unction and the most artistic of beautiful language.

The book before us at the moment reminds us, as its title does, of that marvellous piece of Holy Scripture, the Book of Job, but is much easier reading than the book of Job is for the ordinary man. But it reminds us much more of the *Confessions* of St. Augustine. The man Job, says Fr. Lippert, is "the weary and heavy-laden human creature who suffers still more from inner needs than from outer woes and blows of fortune, though of these he has his goodly share. He

is the man who questions, who seeks hungrily and anxiously through the whole world and always finds himself trembling anew in the presence of the Incomprehensible."

There are twenty-nine short chapters, each dealing with some small or big problem, generally in the form of a confidential talk with God. The very titles of the chapters give some indication of the way the subjects are handled. "Thy World hath grown too Small" is one chapter, followed immediately by another, "Thy World is grown too Large." (The translator has let us down now and again, and many a jar is felt at some incongruous word or phrase, which brings home to us Fr. Lippert's own felicity of expression by sheer contrast). "Canst Thou laugh at the Nations?" is a timely little meditation on the folly of mankind with its wars and peaces and its pride. "Thou canst do nothing except to overlook human banality and pass it by, quietly and reservedly, as if Thou didst not see it. If there is something Thou dost not wish to notice, surely it is the ludicrousness of Thy men and Thy nations. Thou passest over their presumptions and their pompousness as if they were not there. Thou leavest them alone for a time with their silly plaything, with which they make as much undecipherable racket as if they were all drunk. Then one day Thou takest it out of their hands, calmly and without a word, just as one takes from a silly child a toy it has not understood and has misused, without wasting an explanation. . . . Thou art also never the companion of their games. They go their ways—and Thou dost not go with them. But Thou dost guide them to Thy ends even though they do not go thither with Thee." This is a wise, and a deep, and a singularly beautiful and helpful book. May God reward Fr. Lippert for what he has done for souls by his writing and grant him eternal light, whose absence in this world of shadows he felt so keenly and sensitively. E. J. C.

SPIRITUAL LIFE AND PROGRESS. By David of Augsburg. Being a translation of his *De exterioris et interioris hominis compositione* by Dominic Devas, O.F.M. Two volumes. London: Burns Oates & Washbourne. 1937. 6s. each.

DAVID OF AUGSBURG was a contemporary of those giants St. Thomas and St. Bonaventure, and we can estimate the value of this book from the fact that it was frequently attributed to St. Bonaventure. I have not seen the Latin text; so I cannot measure the accuracy of Father Devas's translation, but in itself it is a splendid piece of vigorous English.

The book is one to buy and study. As a book of direction, it is one of the most readable I have run across. It is also one of the earliest complete systems of spiritual direction for the friars, a spiritual guide

or manual covering the whole range of the friar's spiritual life. Later on such books became numerous, but this is the more interesting as giving us a picture of Franciscan religious life, the inner life of the friar, in the days of St. Thomas. We must pass on a century to the " Cloud of Unknowing " and Hilton and Rolle's works to find such vigorous meaty spirituality set out as a system. David of Augsburg will make excellent reading for the devout who would season their prayer with salt, and the mere scholar will find much to interest him and perhaps move him to compunction. The price is a shade high ; but if the devout public once realises the value and interest of the work, this deficit can readily be corrected in a second edition—for it should become a classic in its English dress. JOHN HOWLEY

Classics

GREEK METAPHOR. Studies in Theory and Practice. By W. Bedell Stanford. Oxford : Blackwell. 1937. 10s. 6d. net.

THIS is a first work by a brilliant young Dublin scholar, and has the initial merit of boldly tackling an unaccountably neglected subject. It is best regarded as a series of preliminary studies towards a more systematic treatment to come later. Mr. Standford remarks on the extraordinary fact that there exist in English only two or three books which even touch on the subject of Metaphor, and not even a good bibliography. It is incidentally rather a pity that he did not set out to remedy this latter deficiency himself ; he mentions a great number of works, but does not provide an ordered and dated list, so that the reader must rely on his index for help. In contrast to English, there is a whole library of German writings on Metaphor, but all have the defect of their thoroughness : they provide an embarrassment of material, but very little guidance towards its understanding.

Mr. Stanford collects and elucidates all the most important ancient texts bearing on his subject, from its first mention by Isocrates down to Quintilian and later. He shows how the Greek and Roman attitude towards it differed from the modern in several ways. To begin with, such subjects in ancient times were all branches of the very important practical study of rhetoric, which to our great detriment has disappeared from the modern school. Then the Greek view of literary figures and devices was thoroughly *intellectual*, whereas the modern view is highly *emotional*. This difference goes far to explain the inadequacy of most ancient attempts to define metaphor : " To Aristotle," says Mr. Stanford, " the greatest of pleasures was learning things for oneself." The doctrine of Pity and Terror stands isolated in this respect ; and Cicero for once is remarkably original when in his *De Oratore* he brings in sensual appeal as an element in Metaphor.

The first really adequate effort at a definition of Metaphor, Mr.

Stanford finds, was made by an almost forgotten rhetorician, Hermogenes of Tarsus, about 170 A.D. Unfortunately he came too late to have any effect on theory. In modern times, Metaphor has played a great rôle in the early development of what we call Comparative Philology, and Mr. Stanford criticises at length the extravagant derivation by Max Müller of all abstract terms from primitive roots by way of Metaphor. (By the way, the saying of Jean-Paul Richter, quoted on p. 84, cannot possibly be an echo of Max Müller, who was born two years before Richter's death). Later scholars have, of course, abandoned this as well as most of Max Müller's theories, which are now scarcely worth calling a historical curiosity, and Mr. Stanford is able to show that for the most part these scholars agree with his own definition, somewhat elaborately stated on p. 100.

The two last chapters, " Problems of Basic Meaning in Greek " and " Homer's Use of Metaphor," are of rather less certain value than what precedes them. I am not convinced, for example, that Mr. Stanford's theory as to the primary meaning of words like *ἄνθος, γελάω, κτείς,* and *κλείς* is either sound or in fact very important, nor can I share his view of lines such as *Agamemnon* 136 and 659. I have similar misgivings with regard to his theory, set forth in an Appendix to his third chapter, on *ὄψις*, or the direct effect of written words. Such theories make on me the impression of excessive and unprofitable straining after subtlety, which rather detracts from than enhances the effect of good work. Mr. Stanford has many sound things to say about the relative importance of Metaphor and Simile in Homer, even if one does not agree with his view as to the primitiveness of the poet. On the whole his little book will be found to contain evidence of remarkably wide reading, considerable synthetic power, and originality of thought which will be all the better for being chastened a little in his later work. M. T.

PLUTARCH'S LIFE OF ARATUS. Edited by W. H. Porter. Dublin and Cork: Educational Co. of Ireland. 1937. 5s. net.

THERE has of late been a rather welcome concentration, by a group of able scholars, on the life and activities of Aratus of Sicyon, who was the driving-force in the Achaean League from 251 B.C. till his death in 213, and one of the most important figures in later Greek history. Mr. Wallbank's very readable essay on Aratus was reviewed in our issue for December 1933. Since then, Plutarch's Life of the statesman has been edited by a Dutch scholar. Now, in this thoroughly scientific and complete edition, with an elaborate introduction and full commentary, produced under the auspices of the National University of Ireland, Mr. W. H. Porter has made a contribution of permanent value to classical learning. As the work of a distinguished Trinity graduate

who has been for many years Lecturer in University College, Cork, this book will give readers a very happy impression of the community in matters of scholarship that links together the universities of Ireland. This impression will be heightened by the fact that, while printed by the Press of Dublin University, it bears on its title-page the name of the Cork University Press, and will be further strengthened by the discovery that Mr. Porter received important assistance in his labours from his distinguished pupil the Professor of Greek at Maynooth, and from Professor R. M. Henry of Queen's University, Belfast.

Mr. Porter does every credit to himself, his Universities, and his country. His text is carefully and skilfully constituted and is in some respects an advance on the epoch-making Teubner text of Lindskog and Ziegler. His commentary, which goes fully into linguistic and exegetic difficulties, throws new light on many details hitherto obscure. But the special value of his edition lies in his introduction of over a hundred pages, which constitutes a treatise on the history of the third century B.C. as it affects Aratus or the Achaean League. Mr. Porter has thoroughly mastered both the sources for the period, which are extremely scattered and fragmentary, and the great mass of research done on them during the last half-century. To this sure foundation he has brought a fresh and original outlook on many problems and a gift for chronological investigation which enables him to reconstruct the course of events more accurately in some cases than has hitherto been possible.

The most original part of the work is probably contained in Section 3 of his Introduction, in which he discusses the obscure episode of the revolt of Alexander of Corinth against his uncle Antigonus, and adduces cogent reasons for dating this revolt from 250 to 245 B.C. But in every section he has contributed something to the elucidation of the many problems that arise in a dark yet important period of history. Thus his account of the Chremonidean War and the first war between Macedon and Egypt will be found to contain several new arguments, and this applies still more to his later sections on the expulsion of Macedon and the war with Cleomenes. It may safely be said that this edition of the *Aratus* will long remain indispensable to students of Hellenistic history. M. T.

Education

L'ORGANISATION DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT SUPERIEUR. I. Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle. 1936. 40 fr.

This volume of 339 pages is the first part of a work which should prove of very great value. On the model of previous works on primary and secondary education, it is proposed to collect, under given heads, from officials charged with such matters in various countries, statements concerning the systems on which these countries organise and maintain

their universities and other institutions of higher learning. The work is subsidised by the Carnegie Institute, and it is hoped that it will be useful not only to those professionally concerned, but to all who are interested in the functioning of such centres of culture. Unfortunately the present is scarcely the most auspicious time for intellectual co-operation among universities, as many recent incidents have shown, and it is fairly clear from the pages of this book that many of the aims with which the movement set out will be very slow of realisation.

To begin with the first country under review, Germany. The article on the organisation of higher learning in Germany is the only one in the book to be attributed to no author—a significant exception—and shows every evidence of incoherence as between the continuation under the Weimar Republic of the old German university ideals and the complete revolution effected by the present régime. None the less, like all the other articles in the book, it has great value by reason of its brief yet well-detailed presentation of the facts and its good bibliography. Other articles suffer from individual defects. For example, that on Great Britain and Ireland, contributed by Sir H. F. Heath, classifies the universities of the Free State among those of Great Britain, gives very little information concerning them, and that little very superficial. The article on Spain, again, which we are told is by the "Secrétariat Technique" of the Spanish Ministry for Public Instruction, is naturally of an entirely unreal character, as most of the institutions with which it deals are outside the jurisdiction of that Ministry. We note with interest, as indicating the democratic and liberal ideas of the Republican Government, the statement that "properly speaking, there is no such thing in Spain as university autonomy."

The remaining articles deal with the United States, France, Hungary, Italy and Sweden. All begin with a useful, if brief, historical sketch, then go on to discuss in turn relations between State and university, internal organisation, organisation of studies, including admission, examinations and degrees, forms of assistance for students, and finance. It has naturally not been possible to produce exactly parallel information in every case, so that we miss in the case of Hungary the counterpart to various details given for, say, Sweden. There is a special chapter of thirty pages on learned institutions outside the universities, and a final one of the same length on university statistics, which discusses fully the difficulties involved in their presentation, as well as the need for them, especially in view of "le surpeuplement des universités." Future volumes are to cover the other countries in which universities exist. While in a first venture of this kind there are obvious gaps, discrepancies, and worst of all, perhaps, too much superficial information which fails to inform, those responsible deserve the thanks of all interested in higher education. M. T.

History

SCOTS MERCENARY FORCES IN IRELAND (1565-1603). An account of their service during that period, of the reaction of their activities on Scottish affairs, and of the effect of their presence in Ireland, together with an examination of the gallóglaigh or galloglas. By Gerard A. Hayes-McCoy. With an introduction by Professor Eoin MacNeill. Dublin and London : Burns Oates & Washbourne. 1937. 15s.

Few in Ireland are to-day aware of the important part played by Scotsmen from the Isles in the wars of the second half of the sixteenth century in Ireland. It is well therefore that Mr. Hayes-McCoy in his *Scots Mercenary Forces in Ireland* should have provided readers with a full account of the various movements, plots and plannings of the Redshanks (as these islesmen mercenaries were nicknamed) from the days of Shane O'Neill to the defeat of the two Hughs at Kinsale in December, 1601. There, but for a final chapter headed " Aftermath," Mr. Hayes-McCoy's study really ends ; for at Kinsale, " with the defeat of Tyrone and O Donnell perished alike the organisation of Ireland as a Gaelic nation, the institutional system, the mercenary scheme—the entire gamut of Gaelic social establishments. Henceforward mercenary military aid from the Highlands and Islands of Scotland could mean nothing to the Irish (p. 334)."

Till the days of Shane O'Neill, as Professor O'Neill points out in his Introduction to the book under review, it was not customary to arm the landless classes in Ireland ; and the landowners, who alone enjoyed the rights of full citizenship, did not seem willing to take the field for more than a limited period each year. Therefore, after the coming of the Normans, the Irish chieftains, to maintain their independence, began to hire *Gall-óglaigh* (*i.e.*, " Hebridean Soldiers ") from the *Inse Gall*, or " Norse Islands," as the Irish called the Hebrides. These mercenary *Gallóglaigh* begin to appear in Ireland about the end of the thirteenth century. From them the later *gallóglaigh* or galloglasses, the heavy-armed professional soldiery of Gaelic Ireland, are descended. Mr. Hayes-McCoy devotes an informative chapter to the *Gallóglach* predecessors of the Redshanks and to the institution of a class of paid native Irish soldiers called *buannadha*.

From the fourteenth century to the sixteenth there would seem to have been no new important migration of Scottish mercenaries to Ireland ; for the coming of the MacDonalds as landowners to Antrim in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was, as Mr. Hayes-McCoy points out, quite different from the earlier and later migrations of mercenary soldiers. In the sixteenth century, however, dissension among the families inhabiting the Isles resulted in warfare and general unrest. By reason of that warfare and unrest many bands of trained

soldiers were in existence in the west of Scotland ready to offer their services to those desirous of employing them. The employment that they sought they found with the Catholic lords of Ireland, who were then resisting the Tudor effort to make them abandon their traditional religion and their traditional way of life; for "without the Scots," as Mr. Hayes-McCoy points out (p. 143), "they stood little chance against the English soldiery."

Mr. Hayes-McCoy has chosen a wide field for his researches, and every page written by him bears witness to the care with which he has worked at all available English and Scottish sources. It might be said in criticism of his method that he has not examined the Irish sources with equal care. The Scots, said an English official about the year 1600, are "a very savage and heathenish people, speaking Irish, wavering and uncertain, better affected to this nation than to us, liking their manners and dissolute living better than our justice and living under law (p. 333)." What were those manners and that dissolute way of living, and why did the Scots of the Isles prefer them to English manners and English law? Only by study of the Gaeltacht as it exists to-day, by study of the literature of Ireland in the light of the present-day Gaeltacht, and finally by particular study of that part of Irish literature which has direct bearing on Scotsmen in Ireland,[1] on gallóglaigh,[2] and on the wars of the sixteenth century, can the charm of the Gaelic way of living be understood and the effort to preserve it accounted for. The English of the sixteenth century were either unable or unwilling to account for it, and commonly, as in the document just cited, attributed it to savagery.

Mr. Hayes-McCoy avoids discussion of this subject. This is partly due to the fact that he is clearly not at his ease in dealing with documents written in Irish.[3] Partly, however, it would seem to be due to

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[1] *E.g.*, the two MacDonald poems published by Dr. Bergin in *Scottish Gaelic Studies*, IV (1934-1935), pp. 57, 136; the poem in 23 N 12, p. 9, giving a list of raids by a MacLeod, catalogued in the *Catalogue of Ir. MSS. in the R.I.A.*, p. 1315; and Tadhg Dall's poem on Somhairle Buidhe (No. 24 in Miss E. Knott's edition).

The story of Captain Somhairle MacDonald as told by Father Paul Walsh (*Ir. Book Lover*, XXII, 1934, p. 81 *sq.*) might also be used to show how inadequate is the English description "savage and heathenish" when applied to men of his type. He was second cousin to the Sir James MacDonald whose fortunes Mr. Hayes-McCoy treats of in his final chapter, and he assisted Sir James in his rebellion in Scotland in 1615. Later, when winning fame for himself as a soldier on the Catholic side in the Thirty Years' War, he employed an Irish scribe on the continent to compile for him two of the finest anthologies of Irish poetry extant, *Duanaire Finn*, and the book known from its present owner as the *Book of the O'Conor Don*.

[2] *E.g.*, Tadhg Dall's poems on members of the MacSweeny family (particularly No. 27 in Miss Knott's edition, stanzas 19-23, which mention some MacSweeny rights, and No. 25 which gives a pleasing picture of life in a MacSweeny stronghold).

[3] In the first Irish quotation in the book (p. v) the third line is unmetrical, and in the first word of the fourth line a misprint O'Grady's (wrong aspiration of the initial consonant) is reproduced. *Cf.* remarks on the neglect of Irish sources by the reviewer in *The Irish Times*, 10 July 1937, and by Dr. Séamus Ó Ceallaigh in a review published in *Ireland To-day*, II (August 1937), p. 80 f.

deliberate preference for physical facts, such as the movement of troops, to spiritual facts, such as motives and ideals. Of Sir James Fitzmaurice, for instance, Mr. Hayes-McCoy says that "shortly after his descent upon Smerwick in Kerry with a small Spanish force in July, 1579, he wrote to Randal MacColla MacDonald, the nephew of Somhairle Buidhe, telling him to come south at once with all the mercenaries he could gather, and at the same time he wrote to Ustian MacDonald, a leader of the Mayo Clan Donald, to the same end." O'Donovan's edition (*Kilkenny Arch. Soc.*, 1859, N.S., II, 362 *sq.*) of Fitzmaurice's letters, which are in Irish, are referred to in a note, and O'Donovan has provided a translation. One wonders therefore why nothing is said of the motive urged as follows: "And it is the more right for you to come, because we have a just cause of war against our enemies, viz., we are defending our religion and our country, and they are abolishing the [true] religion, and about to take our country from us; we are on the side of truth, and they on the side of falsehood; we are Catholic Christians, and they are heretics; justice is with us, and injustice with them. Therefore, let himself come, and let him request his brethren and the gentlemen of his neighbourhood to take arms, first for the sake of God, and next to defend their country. Besides, all the bonaghtmen that they shall have shall get their pay readily, and moreover we shall all obtain eternal wages from our Lord, *i.e.*, from the loving Jesus, on account of fighting for His sake." (O'Donovan's tr.).

It would be ungenerous, however, to stress the weak points—which are few—in this remarkably well-documented and thorough study of a neglected aspect of Irish history. G. M.

THE LAST INVASION OF IRELAND. When Connaught Rose. By Richard Hayes. Dublin: Gill. 1937. 15s.

Dr. Hayes has taken for his own a fruitful, if neglected, corner of Irish history, and each book he writes about it is better than the last. Most people have heard something of the "Races of Castlebar," and to Western Irish-speakers at any rate the phrase *Bliadhain na bhFrancach* is familiar; but even those who know most about the story of Ninety-Eight will find much to learn in these pages. Like most other crucial events in our history, the gallant and highly romantic episode of Humbert's landing and its sequel has been up to now almost always described by writers closely in sympathy with the Ascendancy. Dr. Hayes in his introduction briefly and pungently characterises the chief of them: Sir Richard Musgrave, whose "malevolent partiality" made Lord Cornwallis refuse his dedication; Dr. Stock, the learned Protestant Bishop of Killala, whose palace was the French headquarters, and who looked upon the priests and people of his diocese with as much remote dislike as if he had been the Bishop of Rum-Ti-foo; and W. H. Maxwell,

author of *Wild Sports of the West*, who "furnishes, in addition to Musgrave's calumnies, a plentiful supply of his own." As recently as 1902 the late Litton Falkiner could devote to the Connaught Rebellion an essay of a hundred or so pages in which the bitter vituperation of earlier writers was replaced by a kind of arrogant contempt for the victims of tyranny and massacre that is, if possible, more repellent.

In Dr. Hayes's book, written with warmth, colour, and sympathy for those who "rose in dark and evil days," some measure of simple justice is at long last done. Even the bitterest Ascendancy partisans have always found themselves forced to admit that the Connaught peasantry in arms, in spite of incredible provocation, took life only in battle. They make up for this weakness in their propagandist case by insinuations about plunder, defamation of character, and good round abuse. Dr. Hayes rescues from unmerited oblivion the names of the brave men—Blake, Bellew, Bourke, O'Donnell, O'Dowd, O'Malley, and many others—who gave up all to lead the people even in what some of them knew clearly to be a forlorn hope. He has sought out for particulars of the careers and fates of these and a score of others as notable, and has put on record as far as possible the names of the less illustrious slain. To compile anything like a complete list is, of course, out of the question. Little record has survived of the fifteen hundred who made their last stand with such "prodigious courage," as a contemporary English journal said, at Ballinamuck, and left a third of their number dead before they scattered on Shanmullagh Hill. The descendants of many of them are indeed living and working in the neighbourhood to this day, and the most vivid part of Dr. Hayes's book is the chapter in which he records the traditions gathered from these descendants.

The reader will find here set forth a careful, detailed, and fully-documented narrative of every phase of the invasion, including such little-known episodes as the attacks on Granard and Mullingar and the heroic last stand at Killala. There can be no doubt but that, in the absence of further French landings at other points on the coast, the enterprise was doomed from the beginning. Humbert had a bare thousand men against an English garrison of nearly 150,000, and he had neither the time nor the means to make the peasantry, almost entirely ignorant of firearms, into any sort of organised army. His own men were veterans of astonishing military quality, superior to many times their number of English troops ; but after the capture of Castlebar he had no practicable strategic objective, and his march towards Granard was nothing more than a desperate hazard. During its course the odds grew greater and greater against him, till finally, as Dr. Hayes makes clear, he had no choice but the moment of surrender. At Ballinamuck the French scarcely fought at all, and their Irish allies

were simply massacred. There is little profit in the surmise, not raised by Dr. Hayes, whether in fact the brilliant march on Castlebar was not itself an error, and whether Humbert would not have done better to have at once seized Sligo. A tactician of first-rate ability, Humbert seems, naturally enough, to have been entirely at a loss in face of the peculiar condition of Ireland at the time.

Dr. Hayes writes as a sympathiser with the republican tradition, and does full justice to the renown of Matthew Tone and Bartholomew Teeling. Yet his documentation provides plenty of evidence that for the Connaught peasantry, at any rate, republican principles meant nothing at all. What they were interested in, the cause to which they "gave the last full measure of devotion," was the old cause of Catholic Ireland, the right of the dispossessed and proscribed Catholic Gael against their oppressors. One story, told to Dr. Hayes by a native of Lahardane, under Mount Nephin, illustrates this in a manner infinitely pathetic. "There was a poor labouring man—Páidín a' Choga, he was called—went from here to Killala when he heard they were landed. . . . He fought well with them through all the battles, and came back after the troubles were over. And when he was dying long after, he sent for Liam Pleimionn . . . and told him he had sixteen shillings left in his pocket and to get a piper to play the 'White Cockade' over his grave when he was dead."

Dr. Hayes has himself traversed the whole region covered by Humbert's marches, has hunted among French and English archives, and has collected every scrap of local information now available, as well as making use of material from the resources of the Irish Folklore Commission. His success is the surest proof of his own suggestion that far more details about the rising could have been got from living local tradition if the work had been done a generation or two ago. While lamenting the gaps thus left, we may rejoice that in our own time we have a man of Dr. Hayes's patience, energy, and loyal devotion to a cause and a splendid memory which even yet has far too few articulate adherents.

M. T.

THE HISTORY OF THE POPES FROM THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES. By Ludwig von Pastor. Vols. XXV and XXVI. Translated and edited by Dom Ernest Graf, O.S.B. London: Kegan Paul. 1937. 15s. each.

In these two volumes Pastor deals with the brief pontificate (April 10-27, 1605) of Leo XI, and with the epoch-making pontificate of Paul V (1605-1621). The name of Paul V must be familiar to countless millions of Catholic pilgrims, for it is inscribed in triumphal letters across the entrance to the new St. Peter's; and perhaps the most interesting chapter in these two volumes is the closing chapter in which Pastor

sums up the artistic and architectural work of this great Borghese builder. Those who love things ancient must have often found it hard to forgive the Pope who pulled down, stone by stone, the basilica which had stood for more than fifteen hundred years since the days of Constantine—the basilica which had witnessed the imperial crowning of Charlemagne and which had been the centre of all the endless pilgrimages to Eternal Rome during the medieval period of Catholic history. Pastor prints here the summary of the discussions which preceded that bold decision. It is not surprising to learn that a party in the College of Cardinals was vehemently opposed to this act of destruction, and did all that was humanly possible to save the venerable fabric of old St. Peter's.

But the Pope was insistent, and there was no gainsaying the urgent necessity of the task. Constantine's builders had used the wall of Nero's Circus as part of their foundations ; and the foundations had long since begun to collapse. One side of the great building was leaning heavily from the true perpendicular, and the roof had collapsed more than once in places. If a disaster was to be averted, then the whole mighty building must be pulled down and a new fabric created. Michael Angelo's dome was standing for some years when Paul V came to the throne. But the great nave was untouched ; and it was the Borghese Pope who gave the final order for the demolition of the nave, with all its side-chapels and famous sanctuaries. The work was accomplished, under Maderna's direction, with a speed which seemed incredible at the time ; and we are all familiar with Maderna's new creation. Arguments have never ceased, from that day to this, as to the artistic merits and demerits of the most famous church in Christendom. It is at least good news to hear that in Rome a new ruler, powerfully supported by a Pope no less energetic than Paul V, is to-day at work opening up that approach to St. Peter's which can alone make it possible for the modern pilgrim to appreciate the boldness and vastness of Maderna's design. And it is fitting, though artistically regrettable, that the claims of Roman Liturgy should have compelled Paul V and his architect to abandon the simpler, but inadequate, designs of Michael Angelo. That greatest of Renaissance architects had omitted a sacristy from his proposed basilica, and had sacrificed all possibility of full papal liturgy to the architectural claims of his design. Is it surprising that Paul V should have decided that the liturgy of St. Peter's could not be permanently cramped, even by Michael Angelo ?

The rest of Pastor's two volumes are devoted to a survey of the Catholic reform movement, as it was fostered and guided by Paul V during twenty stirring years. The most dramatic episodes in his story are the life and death struggle with Paolo Sarpi in Venice, and the events which preceded and followed the assassination of Henri IV in

France in 1610. Pastor judges Sarpi most severely, and indeed it is difficult to feel sympathy with this Servite friar whose Calvinistic tendencies led Venice into a course of action which could only end in submission to the papacy or final apostasy. Pastor summarises the story so briefly that it is impossible to judge Sarpi's motives with any confidence ; and the critical reader will wish that Pastor had said more by way of explanation of the amazingly anti-papal bias in Venetian policy at this juncture. How had it come to pass that one of the greatest of Italian cities so nearly abandoned Rome for Geneva ? What were the public and private grievances which gave Sarpi his chance ? Pastor is so eager to excuse Rome that he presents a picture which many will feel to be one-sided in its selection of the facts and arguments.

Another controversial matter which is touched on in these volumes is the first phase of the Galileo trial, with the intervention of St. Robert Bellarmine. Here Pastor gives a vivid picture of the great Florentine's personal character, and shows how grievously he damaged the cause for which he stood by indiscretions and personal vanity. But the real issues are postponed to a later volume, when the controversy entered on its more acute crisis. At this stage, all that emerges is the loss to Italian science when the writings of the great Polish scholar Copernicus are placed on the Roman Index.

So much for the contents of these two volumes. A word by way of conclusion, to congratulate the monks of Buckfast for their courage in taking up the work that had been dropped for some years and in giving us yet another instalment of Pastor's great work. The English translation has lagged far behind the German volumes in the past twenty years. Let us hope that Dom Ernest Graf and his fellow-monks will be able to make good the heavy handicap under which they have undertaken the task. A. G.

CATHOLICISM IN NEW ENGLAND TO 1788. By Rev. Arthur J. Riley. Catholic University of America. 1936. Pp. 479.

The series of dissertations " Studies in American Church History," written under the direction of Monsignor Guilday and published by the Catholic University of America, is providing an admirable foundation for a comprehensive and authoritative history of the Church in North America. Already 25 volumes have appeared, in which the varied aspects of Catholic activities from the earliest period of their history have been made the subject of investigation by post-graduate students in the department of American Church History. The volumes make a thoroughly documented series of monographs, which supply in a convenient form facts of every kind connected with the growth of the Catholic Church. Much of the difficult spade-work, that is a necessary preliminary to any serious historical work, is already accomplished.

Fr. Riley's book, making a substantial volume of 479 pages, is a monument to the patience and enquiring spirit of its writer. Rarely, one thinks, has so much toil been devoted to a publication of this type. The material for it had to be quarried in sources as unattractive as they were diverse. Almanacs, school-books, journals and diaries, sermons, theological and political tractates, state records—all are here anatomised and made to yield their smallest fragment of relevant fact. The bibliography, extending to some 70 pages, is an index of the writer's industry, for even the most cursory reference to his pages shows that he has ransacked the books and documents it classifies. One is justified in thinking that nothing relevant to the subject has escaped the gleaner.

Fr. Riley's purpose was to analyse the American Puritan spirit towards Catholicism. While it is true that this spirit was much the same on both sides of the Atlantic, there were certain elements that were special to the New England mind—due to the special conditions, political and economic, of its environment. Some curious instances of a new sourness grafted on the original stock are to be found in Fr. Riley's pages. One must note, however, that while intolerance was always present, it rarely translated itself into practical persecution—at least of the harsher form. The book mentions only one priest who suffered death, and it leaves it an open question whether or not this was due to religion.

On the question of the extent to which Catholicity prevailed in New England before the formal organisation of the Church at Boston in 1788, Fr. Riley's researches, despite their minuteness, point to nothing like a definite conclusion. In his lists of names there are many, both French and Irish, that appear to be Catholic, but the records are rarely such as to admit of a positive assertion that they are. This, no doubt, may be taken as proof that the laws proscribing Catholic practices were rigorously enforced—the natural outcome of the Puritan view of Catholicism traced in such detail in every page of Fr. Riley's book.

W. J. W.

THE NETHERLANDS DIVIDED (1609-1648). By P. Geyl, Lit.D. Translated by S. T. Bindoff, M.A. London: Williams and Norgate. 1936. 12s. 6d.

FOUR years ago we reviewed Professor Geyl's previous volume on *The Revolt of the Netherlands*, and we drew attention to his main thesis: that the separation of the medieval Netherlands into two modern states, Holland and Belgium, was in no sense due to any latent racial contrast between north and south. The accidental division of the country into two strategic parts, north and south of the Rhine delta, gives the clue to the history of the success and partial failure of the great Revolt of the sixteenth century. The Spanish armies were

unable to recapture the insurgent provinces north of the river; but they did succeed in imposing the Spanish and Austrian Counter-reformation on the southern provinces, even on such a province as Brabant or Flanders, where the new reformed teaching had gained wide support from the burghers of the Flemish cities. In this second volume, which is as well planned and constructed as the earlier book, Professor Geyl traces the development of the two new sections under opposing religious and cultural influences. To the world at large the contrast is most apparent in the art of Rembrandt and Rubens: so sharp a contrast where once there had been the essential unity of the medieval school of the Netherlands as a whole. Professor Geyl does not neglect this aspect of his subject, and he has a penetrating study of the two great schools of Dutch and Flemish art, with their long litany of great masters. But he is chiefly concerned with the political development, and he shows the ebb and flow of the new national tide striving to attain a complete reunion, which was in the end frustrated.

Professor Geyl's story includes also the great period of Dutch expansion overseas. The sea-raiders of the sixteenth century have become the colonists of the seventeenth century, until the rivalry between England and Holland in East and West becomes one of the main themes of international history. "Crowd on, and crowd out the Dutch:" that pithy expression of English policy in the latter part of the seventeenth century shows how amazingly successful the Dutch had been, in spite of their small numbers at home, in making good their claim to a commercial world-supremacy. To-day we are watching a drama hardly less absorbing: the effort of a small European country to hold on to possessions which were acquired in the great days of European expansion, but which are menaced to-day by the reviving nationalism and imperialism of the East. And it is not without significance that the Dutch to-day put their faith in international law and international free trade. Grotius is one of the great names in the story which this Dutch professor has to tell, for the benefit of his English readers. Will England and Holland succeed in holding their vast overseas possessions by means of the modern machinery of mandates under a League of Nations? Or will the spirit of Grotius yield to a sterner creed? A. G.

Sociology and Economics

GESELLSCHAFTSLEHRE. Von Ferdinand Frodl, S.J. Wien: Hegner. 1936. pp. 450. 20 Marks.

According to Fr. Frodl, it is almost impossible for a moral theologian of to-day to take up a clear and unequivocal stand with regard to certain very actual problems. This is due to the extraordinary confusion which prevails in the realm of social, economic and political sciences. Without

a clear and adequate knowledge of the fundamental principles of these sciences and without some technical knowledge of their detailed problems, many pressing questions have to be left unanswered or else answered in an unsatisfactory "tutioristic" way. Fr. Frodl sets out in this important work to offer moral theologians a sociological foundation on which they may build a new wing to their special house of knowledge.

The author is a well-known Austrian Jesuit, at present librarian of the Gregorian University in Rome. He has been a close student of social questions, both theoretical and practical, for the last twenty years, and his residence in Austria has given him unique opportunities. Austria has always been the cradle and the nursery of social theories and social experiments: Vogelsang and Lueger represent the double movement. But since the war, Austria has been more than ever the country where sociological thought, and especially Catholic sociological thought, has been found at its intensest. Fr. Frodl belongs to the younger school of Catholic sociologists in Austria—the school that is most discontented with modern conditions and finds its inspiration in the Christian polity of earlier days. It might well be called the radical or "left" Catholic school, except for the fact that its radication leads it back to a more conservative position than the "right" Catholic school.

It may be doubted, of course, whether moral theologians of to-day are quite so much at sea as Fr. Frodl hints. Nevertheless, his book is most welcome. It would have been even more welcome had it been pitilessly revised and stripped of a lot of superfluous drapery. Very few readers, even with the best will in the world, will keep their patience when they find ten pages of words, words, words, containing one page of matter. And then, the overstressing of the obvious is most irritating, while the fantastic display of learning, which gives the book such a bloated appearance, would be comic if it were not so utterly boring. Right at the heart of the book, when the reader has persevered for 225 pages, lies a chapter which deserves the title of Slough of Despond. It is entitled ("called" is altogether inadequate) *Das Geselligsein der Menschennatur in seinen körperlichen und seelischen Eigentümlichkeiten*, and its first section, six closely printed pages, deals with *Die humorale Konstitution und das Inkretsystem.* It is extremely difficult to see what use is made of this chapter in the argument or in the construction of the book. It—and several others—seem to be pure *jeux d'esprit*, thrown in by Fr. Frodl to conform to the Germanic convention of being *wissenschaftlich* at all costs—even at the cost of being unreadable.

The work begins with a section on the concept of human society in pre-Christian times. The gradual growth of actual societies, states or cities is traced from the Doric invasions to the final setting up of the

typical Greek "city." An excellent analysis of this Greek "polis" is given, leading up to a discussion of the theoretical sociology of Plato and Aristotle. The contribution of Rome to sociological thought is, then, shortly sketched. Fr. Frodl next puts forward the idea of human society which the Jewish people acquired from supernatural revelation and which they realised in the course of their history.

The second section of the book takes up the history and especially the inner nature of the specifically Christian Society. Laboriously and in profuse detail the author leads us through Apostolic times up to the ideas of St. Augustine in his *Civitas Dei*. He then notes the first murmurings of dissension and the first straining against the Christian State in the early Middle Ages. Averroes and Averroism are dragged in to account for certain disruptive tendencies in thought, which worked themselves out in social and political evils. A rather good chapter gives us the striving of Scholasticism after the theoretical ideal society. But the coming, first of Nominalism, and later on of the Reformation, brought into human affairs "individualism" in theory and practice. Henceforth there were to be two diametrically opposed tendencies: one really pagan, but not recognised as such even by Catholics; the other Christian, but little understood even by Catholics.

The second half of the book takes up the analysis of the inner nature of Christian society—a concept almost forgotten in the world to-day. The analysis is well done, if a little over-done at times. At any rate it is full and thorough. We recommend this book cordially for its novel and interesting approach to the sociological problems of to-day. But we warn prospective readers that they will have to quarry patiently and perseveringly to find those rich veins of gold which undoubtedly the book contains. Their labour, however, will be well repaid.

E. J. C.

AU DELA DU MACHINISME. By Marcel Malcor. Paris: Desclée de Brouwer. 1937. 23 fr.

THE latest volume of the "Questions disputées" series, in which practical problems are studied according to the principles of St. Thomas Aquinas, discusses the possibility of humanizing economic relations by making exchanges less impersonal than they are to-day. In spite of great technical progress, the world still contains much poverty, unequal distribution and unemployment, and, by an evil paradox, those who work hardest are often the worst paid, while the least deserving members of society are the most prosperous. All this is recognized by every economist, but great differences of opinion prevail regarding the cause of these evil conditions and even greater differences regarding their cure. M. Malcor traces their origin to the disappearance of personal contacts between contracting parties resulting from the

development of transport facilities and machine production. Between parties who never meet injustice tends to appear, and the exploitation of the weaker party takes the place of that solidarity of interest that should characterize every just exchange.

If this diagnosis be correct, the nature of the cure is indicated. The way to abolish exploitation is to restore personal relations, and the best method of achieving this end is to narrow the size of the economic unit, which is at present the national State. M. Malcor therefore proposes the establishment of a number of professional and regional corporations within which prices are to be fixed on a basis of justice calculated to prevent overreaching and to maintain accustomed standards of life. Trade between the different regions within each nation and between nations is to be conducted on a system which erects barriers between internal and external price levels. The flow of trade would be like the flow of water in a canal, in which each level is separated from the other levels by locks. It is rather a pity that these proposals are not examined in the light of the theory of international trade, since their results cannot be judged without regard to their effect on productive efficiency and the abundance of goods and services in the different regions. One objection in particular should have been dealt with, namely, that the suggested arrangements would tend to stereotype existing conditions and would act as a barrier to economic progress. Canals, it is true, are excellent devices for keeping water at different levels, but they are ill adapted for rapid travel and there is a danger of their becoming stagnant. G. O'B.

SOCIAL ORIGINS. By Eva Ross. London : Sheed & Ward. 1936. 3s. 6d. net.

CHRISTIAN POLITY. By V. A. Demant. London : Faber & Faber. 1936. 7s. 6d. net.

MISS EVA ROSS's little book on Social Origins is a model of what such a book should be. It contains the substance of the lectures she delivered at the Catholic Social Guild Summer School, Oxford, in 1935. Speaking to such an audience as attends these summer schools and to a wider public similar in type, she could not afford to indulge in any recondite scientific dissertations on primitive man couched in a barely intelligible jargon. There are plenty of such books, which her audience had neither the inclination nor the necessary training nor the leisure to study. What she put before her listeners, and now puts before her readers, is a simple exposition, from a Catholic point of view, of the results of the scientific investigation into primitive society during the last hundred years. The four dominating questions in this branch of science are the Family and the State, Private Property and Religion. To each of these Miss Ross devotes a chapter, adding an extremely well-chosen list of books for

further reading. An excellent introductory chapter gives a short account of the history and present state of these anthropological studies. The best chapter is that on *Religion among the Primitives*. It takes up the various theories of evolutionism, magic, manism, fetishism, totemism and the rest which are blindly accepted as gospel-truth by most non-Catholics to-day. The influence of Spencer, Frazer, Max Müller and Lang has been enormous in producing a "naturalistic" and rationalistic mentality among the educated and half-educated people of English-speaking countries. Miss Ross has done a notable service in sifting the chaff from the grain and in making clear how and where and why these prominent writers have been frequently misunderstood.

Mr. Demant has written an interesting series of essays on sociology from the point of view of an Anglo-Catholic. He writes as "a priest and theologian," and his aim is "to confront the nature of man as detected in his organized secular affairs with the doctrine of man as reached deductively in Christian Theology." Catholic readers will want to remind themselves again and again that certain words and even certain doctrines have a very different meaning for Mr. Demant than for themselves. But with this word of caution it may be said that there are many fine things in this book. It is certainly stimulating, fresh, suggestive, and full of sound commonsense and courageous thought on fundamentals.

One of the best expositions of whatever truth there is in Social Credit theories is given in a few pages on Money and Christian Sociology. "The Christian doctrine of work and its duty can become again a reality when disentangled from that particular aspect of it which takes the form of economic employment. . . . Proletarianism, or the existence of a vast horde of human beings who have no property, no extension of their personality in the economic sphere, is an evil from the standpoint of Catholic ethics. It restricts man's relation to society to one of pure contract, which can be terminated by purely economic considerations, and it therefore places economic life beyond the sphere in which social, moral and spiritual responsibility have any meaning." Dr. Barnes is courteously but very firmly put in his place with an astonishingly sure touch: "Dr. Barnes's objections to Catholic doctrine are not really based on any philosophical synthesis of scientific and religious truth.... It seems then that these much advertised misrepresentations of the Catholic Faith are not the logical objections of a scientist, but the psychological dislikes of a man . . . the Bishop's topsy-turvy view of reality is not the ground of his objections but the *ad hoc* rationalization of his dislikes."

There is a remarkable treatment of the Philosophic Basis of Christian Sociology, which contains a fine analysis of mortal sin. The Catholic

doctrine of freedom is well treated in another essay dealing with secular totalitarianism. The problem of Church and State is handled in a masterly fashion. Gierke's work is touched on, and we are given a sympathetic and penetrating study of Troeltsch.

All through the book one has to be constantly reminding oneself that Mr. Demant is not a Roman Catholic; for he certainly is an *anima naturaliter catholica* and (he must pardon us for saying it) his spiritual home is Rome. We should dearly like to see him apply his fine mental powers and his obvious intellectual sincerity to a study of the sociological nature of the true Church, to the question of its unity, and to the constitution which Christ so clearly wished His Church to have. Is there no case, in Mr. Demant's view, for the jurisdictional primacy of the Pope? He has been described as "an unorthodox economist and an orthodox theologian" with "originality, independence and forcefulness of thought." He is steeped in Catholic literature, and his mind seems to run naturally along Catholic lines of thought. We have not heard the last of Mr. Demant. E. J. C.

PRINCIPES CATHOLIQUES D'ACTION CIVIQUE. Par D. Lallement. Paris: Desclée de Brouwer. 12 francs.

THIS volume of two hundred and sixty pages is a concise handbook of Catholic political philosophy. It would be an impertinence for us to add anything to the praise officially given to the book by the plenary assembly of the cardinals and bishops of France a couple of years ago. "It displays," they then wrote, "a complete mastery of its subject . . . [it is] an exact and living monograph . . . [a collection] of all the texts, judiciously made, scattered throughout numerous documents, and a presentation, with perfect clarity, of the official thought of the Church on a point of capital importance." These are but a few phrases out of an official letter, lavish in its praises, charging all teachers, primary and secondary, to make themselves acquainted with the book. What more is there to be said?

There are three parts to the work. The first deals with the place of politics among the duties of a Christian citizen. The attitude of the Church towards politics is clearly set forth: the benefits it can confer on the State; the due and proper influence it should exercise; the hopes it sets on a peaceful political activity. The exact obligations, as well as the counsels of perfection, of the Christian citizen are then laid down, definitely and precisely.

The second part treats of the demands which human nature itself and Christian philosophy make on politics. First of all comes the establishment and the maintenance of the common good: an excellent chapter on this much misunderstood thing. Then follows a long discussion of the social order as made up of justice joined to charity. The

vital question of social authority is next dealt with. After this, four chapters are devoted to more particularized questions such as the State and education, economics, foreign and colonial policy.

The third part touches on more concrete matters of detailed organisation. The nature of political representation, the vote and the duty of citizens to cast their votes form the first chapter of this part. "Are there any reasons which could excuse a citizen from voting at an election?" asks M. Lallement. There are, of course; but the form of the question reveals his attitude to this civic duty. The vexed problem of party politics comes under scrutiny, and the degeneration of true political parties separated by big questions of principles into political factions out for personal betterment or personal revenge is castigated. Finally, the problems connected with the establishment of some particular form of government, monarchy or republic, and the respect due to established *de facto* government are discussed and elucidated. A closing section gives the Church's clear teaching on the right of resistance to unjust laws and on revolution.

M. Lallement has very little, if anything at all, new or original to say on these questions of political philosophy. The value of his book lies in its clearness of exposition and its precise statement of the position which Catholic citizens should take up in face of certain modern situations. E. J. C.

Miscellaneous

THE HERITAGE OF THE CATHEDRAL. By Sartell Prentice. London: Methuen. pp. xxii+328. 1937. 16s. net.

This book is the outcome of a chance meeting of its author with a tourist in front of Amiens Cathedral. The tourist—surely a fellow-countryman of the writer busy on the task of "doing Europe"—asked: "What is this church? Why are you going in? Is there anything to see?" To these questions the book is an answer which, while omitting nothing that is relevant, nevertheless includes certain things that are not so relevant, and not altogether likely to elucidate the tourist's difficulties.

The sub-title of the book—a study of the influence of history and thought on cathedral architecture—satisfactorily indicates its purpose and content. As a work of *vulgarisation* in the best sense it makes a singularly fascinating and instructive volume, and may be fairly said to merit for its writer inclusion in the group of American scholars such as E. K. Rand and C. H. Haskins, who have done so much to diffuse in the English-speaking world a juster appreciation of the meaning and worth of the cultural achievement of the middle ages.

It was, I think, Viollet-le-Duc who described the medieval cathedral as *un livre ouvert pour la foule*. And this is no far-fetched metaphor,

for it expresses almost with literal exactness what the cathedral essentially was—a book in stone, wherein the average man of its age might read everything necessary to enable him to endure the sorrows and burdens of this life and to merit the recompense promised in the life to come. The thought in M. Viollet-le-Duc's phrase is exactly that of the Ballade which Villon made for his mother, *Femme povrette et ancienne*, ignorant and unlettered, who found in the cathedral and its images what filled her with faith and made her resolved in that faith to live and die.

The crowd of M. Viollet-le-Duc's phrase was, it must be noted, the crowd of the great age of Catholic Faith. A grasp of the power and import of that Faith is indispensable for any adequate realisation of medieval achievements, whatever the medium of their accomplishment. Behind them all stands that Faith : from it they drew their inspiration, and without it their full significance cannot be rightly comprehended.

Mr. Prentice, one may conjecture, is not of that Faith. Therefore his very charming and sympathetic interpretation of one of its most characteristic products is all the more noteworthy. His enthusiasm for every detail of the cathedral has led him to travel some fifty thousand miles, so that he might write of things his own eyes have seen, and not be dependent on others for his descriptions.

The enthusiasm that set him journeying has communicated itself to his pages. What he has seen he makes his reader see, his vivid pen being helped by a multitude of excellent illustrations. His book is a very complete guide to the understanding of the cathedral—and it is a guide-book not only for those who travel but also for those who are content to do their journeying by their own fireside. Led by Mr. Prentice, the reader will follow the evolution and devolution of the cathedral from its humble beginnings in the catacombs to its supreme efflorescence in the marvellous edifices of the Gothic age. Naturally these are the examples that claim his closest attention, especially those of France, for in the judgment of many competent to speak on this matter these edifices are the noblest examples of the builder's art that men have as yet witnessed.

Mr. Prentice has studied very thoroughly the literature of the cathedral, and for this reason one is surprised that, in the plenitude of his dissertations on origins, he makes no mention of the possibility—or as some will have it, the probability—that France was indebted to Ireland for the idea of some of the most notable details of her cathedral sculpture. The Monasterboice carvings, executed *circa* 900 A.D., are so like French work of a later origin that there is at least a plausible case for an Irish provenance for certain details that this book takes as characteristically French. It would appear that Mr. Prentice has not visited Ireland, and that he relies in this as in other matters on the classic work of Mâle.

Reference was made earlier to certain details in this book that were not likely to help the tourist-begetter of the work. I meant Mr. Prentice's determination to trace back some of the most sacred and characteristic things in Christian art to the pre-human or sub-human man of evolutionary theory. Now much of what is paraded as science in this connection is not much above the level of fiction masquerading as fact. *The Golden Bough* is one of Mr. Prentice's quarries in his research for origins. Such origins would strip the great memorials of an age of great Faith of everything that gives them real meaning and value for men. As developments of the so-called taboos and fetishism of primitive man they would have but slight claim to our reverence, and the puzzled tourist at the door of Amiens Cathedral would find more profit in the nearest picture house than in Mr. Prentice's eloquent explanation of what makes the cathedral one of man's greatest achievements. For logically the conclusion of his argument would equate the noblest Gothic monument with the art of the cave-dweller.

But Mr. Prentice is not logical in following out the consequence of his views on origins, and he does not equate the two things. His feeling for the cathedral is one of genuine reverence, and his book is inspired by that reverence. W. J. W.

LIBRARIES AND LITERATURE FROM A CATHOLIC STANDPOINT. By Stephen J. Brown, S.J. Dublin : Browne & Nolan. 1937. 7s. 6d. net.

In this collection of Father Brown's essays we get not only his very stimulating views on library questions of the first importance, but a huge mass of most valuable information not easily available elsewhere. Not alone the librarian by profession, but parents and educators will find it an invaluable manual of Catholic book-lore. Personally, I found it very readable and informative, and can warmly recommend it.

In library policy Father Brown is neither a tutiorist nor a laxist. I would class him as perhaps an equiprobabilist. He has specialised in book-selection, a most thorny subject in practice and pretty difficult in theory. The public librarian is akin to the general practitioner, who has to treat every kind of case. The book-selection theorist is a sort of cross between a pathologist and a dietician—with the emphasis on diet rather than disease. What Father Brown has to say about morbid and wholesome literature is well worth our attention, even where we differ. Only the "Puritans" and the "Libertines" will throw bricks.

But book-selection is only a part of the matter treated. The views expressed on Catholic library work are very stimulating and should encourage a forward policy in librarianship. It is time we, the Catholic people of Ireland, woke up to the possibilities of our libraries instead

of grousing at the library rate! We might copy the American lead in this matter with advantage. Libraries are more nationally useful than cinemas.

JOHN HOWLEY

AN EMPTY LAND. Pioneers and Pioneering in Australia. By the Hon. Sir John Kirwan. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode. 1934. 15s. net.

THE author of this well-produced and excellently illustrated book is President of the Legislative Council of Western Australia. Its sub-title is only borne out by the first chapter, which is a very interesting and attractive account of the first Australian settlements, and which gives due prominence to the part played by Irish political convicts both after 1848 and again after 1867. The succeeding chapters are devoted to the description of a journey made during a couple of months in 1932 through the northern part of Western Australia in company with the State Minister of Lands and others. Over four thousand miles were covered on land, mainly by motor, and nearly two thousand more on sea along the coast.

The purpose of the journey was to collect information about the economic possibilities, mainly for pastoral agriculture, of this vast area, described by the publishers of the book as "the last of the great undeveloped territories of the world." Starting out from Perth, which the author believes to be "a huge mistake, like most of the capitals of the Australian States," the party traversed for the remainder of their tour a country larger than Europe west of the Danube, whose white inhabitants are less than those of a fair-sized English provincial town. There are many picturesque descriptions of strange fauna and flora, and many thrilling accounts of incidents connected with the history of the settlements visited. The aboriginal population, while quite small in proportion to the area, is still in its primitive state. Sir John, naturally enough, is not in competition with Spencer and Gillen; but the general reader will derive abundant instruction as well as entertainment from his readable story.

The final chapter is perhaps the most topical in the book, discussing as it does the possibilities of North-Western Australia for white settlement and the first steps recently taken with a view thereto. The chief difficulty does not lie in the fact that the territory is inside the tropics. Sir John shows convincingly that with modern resources there is no reason why white men should not flourish there, as in fact a few of them do. The real trouble is not climatic, or even economic, so much as political. Northern Australia is controlled by three different governments, all resident in the south of the continent. More serious than this obstacle to rational development has been the general Australian determination to keep out emigrants, especially of course

those not of the white race. In 1932 the anomalous position of the sub-continent at last impressed the Commonwealth government to such a degree that it announced plans for its settlement. The principal feature of these plans was the proposal to hand over extensive powers in this region to chartered companies. Unfortunately this proposal labours under the old defect of envisaging Australian settlement as a purely British task; and it is fairly certain that at the present time, in spite of her unemployed millions, Great Britain is unable, single-handed, to cope with it. Sir John does not discuss the possibility of European co-operation; but his praiseworthy work will be of use in illustrating, when the time eventually arrives, the necessity for opening up his great country to European immigrants. M. T.

Theology and Philosophy

LA PREDESTINATION DES SAINTS ET LA GRACE. Doctrine de St. Thomas comparée aux autres systèmes théologiques. Par R. Garrigou-Lagrange, O.P. Paris: Desclée de Brouwer. 1936. 20 fr.

The difficult and inter-connected questions of predestination and efficacious grace have been for centuries the battle-ground of the theologians. How is the doctrine of predestination to be reconciled with the universal salvific will of God? How is the doctrine of grace, efficacious *in actu primo*, to be reconciled with the liberty of the will? Defenders of the various theological systems are accustomed to claim the patronage of St. Thomas for their views. Fr. Garrigou-Lagrange is, of course, a convinced adherent of the system which, following the custom of its defenders, we will call Thomist—without prejudicing the very disputed question as to whether it really represents the doctrine of St. Thomas; and, in the present work, he treats these questions from that point of view.

The first part of about sixty pages is devoted to "la doctrine de l'église et les systèmes théologiques." A second part treats, in three sections, of predestination (1) according to the theologians of the middle ages; (2) according to Protestantism and Jansenism; and (3) according to post-Tridentine theologians; and concludes with a chapter devoted to a synthetic view of the doctrine from the author's point of view. The third part, which deals with the problem of efficacious grace, is mainly occupied with the defence of the system of physical predetermination. Four appendices deal with subsidiary points connected with the same question.

It will not be expected that a mere review should enter into the well-worn theological controversy by attempting a detailed criticism of the author's theological views and arguments. They are those

commonly defended by writers of the Thomist School; and, in so far as they are the peculiar property of that School, and not common to all Catholic theologians, they are open to the criticisms so often levelled against them by the defenders of other systems. Of those other systems, the author is chiefly intent on a refutation of the Molinist: indeed this seems to be one of the chief aims of his work. We cannot say that his criticism of that system is of any particular value; it is fundamentally vitiated by the author's failure to grasp the meaning of the points at issue in the controversy between the two schools. Hence, for instance, his habit of quoting, as opposed to Molinism, texts of St. Thomas which express nothing beyond what is common to all Catholic theologians. Such, for instance, are the quotations from the *Summa* I, q. 23, a. 5 on p. 26—repeated in the same sense on p. 117.

The author's most radical misunderstanding of Molinism, which pervades much of the book, is expressed on p. 117, were we are given to understand that, according to Molinists, "la determination libre de l'acte salutaire n'est pas l'effet de la causalité divine ni de la prédestination." This, of course, is absurd. The free determination of the salutary act is nothing but the free act by which the will, excited and aided by grace, determines itself to will this or that good; and by the very fact that it is elicited by the aid of grace and the divine concursus, it is an effect of the divine causality and of predestination. The question at issue between Molinists (including under that name Congruists, such as Suarez and Bellarmine, and Premotionists of the type of Billot) and Thomists is how that grace, if viewed *in actu primo*—antecedently that is, at least in the order of nature and causality, to the free consent of the will—is infallibly connected with that free consent. Molinists of all shades explain the problem by "scientia media." God knows what the created will would do in all circumstances and with all graces. When, therefore, God, knowing by "scientia media" that if a man received a certain grace in certain circumstances he would consent, decrees to give him that grace and to place him in those circumstances, such a grace, viewed as the instrument of the divine will and wisdom, is infallibly connected with the future free consent of the will—though it in no way necessitates the will or interferes with its liberty. Such a grace is an infallibly efficacious instrument of the divine will for the conversion of man. So are fully verified, in the Molinist system, the numerous texts of St. Thomas cited by Père Garrigou-Lagrange. Their general sense is that God can infallibly move the will to a free act without interfering with its liberty.

This is but one instance, though a fundamental one, of the author's failure to understand or to do justice to the system he is criticising. That failure lessens very seriously the utility of his work—all the more seriously because, as we have already remarked, that criticism is not

confined to the portions which treat *ex professo* of the Molinist system, but occupies a considerable place in most other sections of the work.

P. O'D.

THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF GIAMBATTISTA VICO. By H. P. Adams, M.A. (Cantab.), Lecturer in History at the University of Birmingham. London : Allen and Unwin. 1935. Pp. 236. 8s. 6d. net.

THIS is a scholarly piece of work, displaying learning, accuracy, care and a measured enthusiasm for its subject. With many of the judgments we do not agree, and there are considerable *lacunae* in the author's knowledge and understanding of certain predecessors of Vico, but as a piece of history, as biography, it reflects great credit on Mr. Adams. Moreover, it is an extremely useful book : there was practically nothing in English on Vico and his philosophy till this appeared, and yet modern and contemporary Italian philosophy openly professes its indebtedness to him. Both Croce and Gentile have written at length on him. The construction and ordering of the book is excellent, and it is written in an easy and most readable style. It is quite evident, too, that Mr. Adams has made a full study of the chief works on Vico in Italian, French and German, as well as the few essays or lectures dealing with him in English.

Giambattista Vico was born in Naples in June 1668. He died there in January 1744, at the age of seventy-six, " with (as Mr. Adams writes) the most perfect submission to the Divine Will and a prayer for the pardon of his sins, comforted by the powerful aid of the Church which he had eagerly requested, continually reciting the psalms of David." The dates of his life have a certain importance : Descartes was dead, but Spinoza still had nine years to live when Vico was born, and when he died he left Hume a man of thirty-three and Kant a youth of twenty-four behind him. There was no great scholastic philosopher living contemporaneously with him—Malebranche, Leibniz and Locke were his chief philosophical contemporaries—but the century that saw his birth had seen Suarez, Molina and John of St. Thomas. We can gauge what influences must have gone to his formation as philosopher and we know where to look for traces of his influence.

Vico was the son of a bookseller, and like Descartes, Voltaire and many another distinguished man received his early education from the Jesuits. Mr. Adams's account of his Jesuit teachers (presumably based on some authority, perhaps Vico's Autobiography) is interesting. " Of Vico's two teachers [Jesuits] one was a nominalist, the other a realist." They recommended him—a boy of fourteen—to read Petrus Hispanus and Paulus Venetus—" in knowing that he did not understand [them], he probably had the advantage of some of his teachers." His next

Jesuit professor was "Guiseppe Ricci, a scholastic certainly, but of a more attractive sect than Balzo's [the nominalist]. He was a Scotist." However, Vico discovered that Ricci "was fundamentally a Zenonist," and either Vico or Mr. Adams discovered that "there was an element of Zenonism in Suarez: there were thoughts approaching the speculations of Galileo on the nature of space and matter." Had Mr. Adams probed a little deeper, he might have found that Suarez had other thoughts as well. For instance, the world had not to wait for Vico to realise that all law must be founded on reason: he himself probably found it in every second page of Suarez's *De Legibus*, and Suarez found it in St. Thomas, who found it in Aristotle. Nor was Vico the "first man to have this conception" of a philosophy of history.

Mr. Adams is inclined to over-estimate the originality and importance of his hero. The most useful chapters in the book are that on the "Scienza Nuova" of 1725, the work on which Vico's fame chiefly rests, and that on "The Greatness of Vico," which is an excellent summing up of Vico's life. Mr. Adams evidently had not the opportunity of reading the study of Vico contained in the Martin Grabmann Festschrift, which would have given him the recent Catholic attitude to Vico. It is interesting, also, to note the appearance of a German work by Walter Witzenmann in the last few months—*Politischer Aktivismus und sozialer Mythos: Giambattista Vico und die Lehre des Faschismus.* It is possibly the beginning of an investigation that may end in blaming Suarez and the Jesuits for Fascism, just as they have, in the last half-century, been blamed for the French Revolution and for Capitalism. However that may be, Vico's ideas on political philosophy are important, and Mr. Adams's book is a decidedly opportune and actual study. E. J. C.

BERNARD BOSANQUET AND HIS FRIENDS: LETTERS. Edited by J. H. Muirhead, LL.D., F.B.A. London: Allen and Unwin. 1935. Pp. 326. 12s. 6d. net.

IT is more than fourteen years since Bosanquet died—February 1923—at the age of seventy-five. A "Short Account" of his life appeared soon after his death from the pen of his wife. The present volume completes the picture of the man and the philosopher, and, taken with Mrs. Bosanquet's biographical sketch, forms an excellent introduction to the study of Bosanquet's works themselves. Competent judges have declared Bosanquet "the central figure in British philosophy for a whole generation," and he certainly was one of the very few thinkers in England who deserved the honourable name of "philosopher." At Balliol he came under the influence of T. H. Green, and had for two years close contact with Green's friend and biographer, R. L. Nettleship. He never seems to have been able to shake off that influence, nor did he really make any great original contribution to the doctrine of the

school with which he was associated. But he was a widely-read, intelligent and sincere thinker, and again and again in his works seems to be on the point of breaking loose from the net of Hegelian idealism in which Germany caught and has held captured the flower of English philosophers.

Bosanquet became a philosopher almost by accident. He had been elected in 1870 to a Fellowship in University College after his degree and there for ten years lectured on Greek History. To this period belongs his translation of Schömann's *Athenian Constitutional History*, and he seemed destined to spend his life as a classical scholar. His father's death in 1880 gave him an independent income, and "the call of philosophy, strengthened by a growing dislike of the narrowness of university life and its failure to give scope to his interest in social problems," made him resign his position in Oxford and go to London. Here he remained for the rest of his life, except the five years he spent in St. Andrew's as Professor of Moral Philosophy (1903–1908). His best known works are probably his *History of Aesthetic* and his *Philosophical Theory of the State*; but he wrote on Logic, Epistemology, Ethics and Social Problems, books of more than ordinary value. Towards the end of his life he crossed swords with some of the modern Italian philosophers, followers of Croce and Gentile. A very good account of this incident is given in the volume under review.

The Editor has divided up the material, chiefly letters, at his disposal into six parts of very unequal interest and value, as is only natural. An excellent introduction and an excellent running commentary, as it were, make it quite easy to follow Bosanquet's development. In the early letters we have Bosanquet's first ideas about philosophy as logic; then comes his settling down in London as a serious philosopher and his period at St. Andrews. This brings us down to his Gifford Lectures, *The Principle of Individuality and Value* and *The Value and Destiny of the Individual.* His letters during the war contain very many interesting and revealing judgments. As early as January, 1915, he was writing: "I am most preoccupied about getting ready a reasonable frame of mind and preparation for a reasonable peace. . . . I don't think *mere* limitation of armaments *much* gain; it is the selfish spirit and the fallacies that go with it in all countries that need rooting out . . ." This whole section is headed *The War as Touchstone of Idealist Philosophy.* "The royal road to peace," he wrote in 1917, "is to do right at home, and banish sinister interests and class privileges from the commonwealth."

Altogether, a most interesting and instructive book, and really essential for a proper understanding and a sympathetic interpretation of Bosanquet's works.

E. J. C.

Books Received

Aron, Marguerite. Les Ursulines. (Grasset, 18 fr.).
Bopp, Linus. Liturgical Education. (Bruce-Fitzpatrick, 9/6).
Brennan, Robert E. General Psychology. An Interpretation of the Science of Mind based on Thomas Aquinas. (Macmillan, 12/6).
Brown, Stephen J. The Press in Ireland. (Browne & Nolan, 5/–).
Brusnchvicg, L. Descartes. (Rieder, 25 fr.).
Calcagno, Franciscus. Philosophia Scholastica. Vol. I. (Naples: M. d'Auria. L. 16).
Campbell, G. A. The Knights Templars. (Duckworth, 15/–).
Clayton, Joseph. Luther and his Work. (Bruce-Fitzpatrick, 10/6).
Clump, Cyril C. Marxism. (Calcutta: *The New Review*, 10 As.).
Devane, James. Isle of Destiny. The Clash of Cultures. (Browne & Nolan, 3/6).
Dudley, Donald R. History of Cynicism. (Methuen, 12/6).
Farrow, John V. Damien the Leper. (Burns Oates, 7/6).
Gabel, Richard J. Public Funds for Church and Private Schools. (Catholic University of America, pp. 870).
Garnier, Adrien. La Vierge Marie et les Saints. (Aubanel Ainé, 15 fr.).
Guitton, Georges. Saint Jean Francois Regis. (Editions Spes, 40 fr.).
Jolivet, Regis. Cours de Philosophie. (Vitte, 30 fr.).
Ketter, Peter. Christ and Womankind. (Burns Oates, 18/–).
Lucy, John F. Keep fit and cheerful. (Talbot Press, 1/–).
McNabb, Vincent. Frontiers of Faith and Reason. (Sheed & Ward, 10/6).
Lansdowne, Marquis of. Glanerought and the Petty-Fitzmaurices. (Oxford Press, 15/–).
Malbois, Emile. Les Sixième et Neuvième Commandements de Dieu. (Aubanel, 4 fr.).
Mary St. Thomas, Mother. Sayings of Dom Marmion. (Sands, 1/6).
Masure, Eugene. L'Humanisme chrétien. (Beauchesne, 27 fr.).
Maynard, Theodore. The Odyssey of Francis Xavier. (Longmans, 10/6).
Messenger, Ernest. The Reformation, the Mass and the Priesthood. Vol. II. Rome and the Revolted Church. (Longmans, 30/–).
Mersch, Emile. Morale et Corps Mystique. (Edition Universelle, 25 fr.).
Mikhaylov, N. Soviet Geography. Second Edition Revised. (Methuen, 10/6).
Muir, Kenneth and Sean O'Loughlin. The Voyage to Illyria. A New Study of Shakespeare. (Methuen, 7/6).
Nissen, Benedikt Momme. Langbehn-Briefe an Bischof Keppler. (Herder, 1.50 M.).
O'Neill, George. The Psalms and the Canticles of the Divine Office. A New Translation. (Bruce-Fitzpatrick, 12/6).
Perk, Ioannes. Synopsis latina quattuor evangeliorum. (Coldwell, 5/–).
Perroy, Marguerite. Le Cardinal Mercier. (Aubanel Ainé, 15 fr. 60).
Pope, Hugh. Saint Augustine of Hippo. (Sands, 12/–).
Pope, Hugh. The Catholic Student's "Aids" to the Study of the Bible. Vol. V. The New Testament. Second Edition Revised. (Burns Oates, 10/–).
Reed, G. H. A Third Book of Architecture. The Parish Church. (Black, 1/6).
Rousselot, P. Quaestiones de Conscientia. (Bruxelles: Edition Universelle, 15 fr.).
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Paid up Capital..... £500,000. | Reserve Fund..... £710,000

DIRECTORS :

MARTIN FRANCIS MAHONY, *Chairman.*

THOMAS LEVINS MOORE.
PATRICK JOSEPH BRADY.
CHARLES ERNEST LAMBKIN.
CHARLES HUGH O'CONOR.
ALFRED T. COLLINS.
HENRY J. CAMPBELL, *General Manager.*

AUDITORS :
KEAN & CO., Chartered Accountants, 46 Dame Street.

HEAD OFFICE—27 COLLEGE GREEN, DUBLIN.

General Manager—H. J. CAMPBELL. *Secretary*—H. GOODWILLIE. *Asst. Secretary*—G. ROCHE.

REPORT OF THE DIRECTORS
OF
THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Submitted to the Shareholders at their Ordinary General Meeting held on Monday, the 26th day of July, 1937.

The Directors submit to the Shareholders the annexed Balance Sheet as at 30th June, 1937, with relative Profit and Loss Account for the Half-year to that date and a copy of the Auditors' Report thereon.

After providing for rebate on bills, interest on deposits, bad and doubtful debts and contingencies, the net profits for the half-year amount to	£40,715	1	5
To which has to be added :—			
Balance of undivided profits from last Account ...	29,166	16	7
	£69,881	18	0
The Directors have transferred to the Reserve Fund the sum of	£10,000	0	0
And they recommend that the balance be applied as follows, viz. :—			
In payment of a dividend for the half-year at the rate of **Twelve** per cent. per annum, subject to deduction of Income Tax	30,000	0	0
To next Account	29,881	18	0
	£69,881	18	0

The Reserve Fund now stands at £710,000.

The Directors regret that, owing to recent illness, and also to the increased time and attention which his own affairs demand from him, Mr. William R. Nolan has felt it imperative to retire from the Board.

Mr. Alfred T. Collins having intimated his desire, owing to the state of his health, to be relieved from the position of General Manager, which he had filled for over twenty-nine years with a seat on the Board, the Directors regretfully acceded to his wishes ; but they have co-opted him a Director, and the Bank will continue to have the benefit of his experience and advice. The Directors wish to place on record their high appreciation of Mr. Collins's long and valuable services to the Bank.

The Directors have appointed Mr. Henry J. Campbell, who has been Secretary of the Bank for some years, to the position of General Manager, with a seat on the Board. Mr. Henry Goodwillie has been appointed Secretary.

By Order of the Board,
HENRY J. CAMPBELL,
General Manager.

DUBLIN, 12*th July*, 1937.

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

INCORPORATED IN THE IRISH FREE STATE.

BALANCE SHEET, 30th JUNE, 1937.

LIABILITIES.	£ s. d.	ASSETS.	£ s. d.
Capital, viz.:—100,000 Shares of £20 each—£2,000,000; amount paid up, £5 per Share	500,000 0 0	By Cash in hand and with Bankers ...	881,913 17 2
Reserve Fund	710,000 0 0	„ Investments, viz.:—	
Consolidated Bank Notes outstanding ...£550,000 0 0		War Loan, Irish Free State National Loans, and other Government Stocks (including Stock lodged with the Currency Commission by way of Security for Consolidated Bank Notes outstanding as per contra) ...	5,006,491 2 4
Less: Held by the Bank ... 51,075 0 0	498,925 0 0	Corporation Stocks, Railway Debenture Stocks, and other Securities	302,992 16 8
Deposit, Current, and other Accounts, including Interest due on Deposits	10,774,591 15 3		6,191,397 16 2
Sundry Agents	25,751 14 7	„ Bills Discounted, Advances on Current Accounts, Loans, etc., after deducting provision for Bad and Doubtful Accounts ...	6,206,483 16 4
Rebate on Bills Discounted not at maturity	5,101 6 11	„ Sundry Agents	8,335 3 6
Profit and Loss Account ...£69,881 18 0		„ Bank Premises and Furniture (Head Offices and 58 Branches), at cost, less amounts written off	168,034 18 9
Less: Transferred to Reserve Fund ... 10,000 0 0	59,881 18 0		
	£12,574,251 14 9		£12,574,251 14 9

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT for Half-year ended 30th JUNE, 1937.

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Expenses of Management, including Directors' Fees (£2,000), Salaries, Pensions and Allowances, Bonuses and Grants to Staff, Rents, Rates, Repairs, Revenue Taxes, and all other outlay	109,183 8 0	By Balance from last Account ...	29,166 16 7
Amount transferred to Reserve Fund	10,000 0 0	„ Gross Profit for Half-year, after providing for Rebate on Bills, Interest on Deposits, Bad and Doubtful Debts and Contingencies	149,898 9 5
Dividend to be paid in August, 1937, subject to deduction of Income Tax ... £ s. d. 30,000 0 0			
Balance to next Acct. 29,881 18 0			
	59,881 18 0		
	£179,065 6 0		£179,065 6 0

AUDITORS' REPORT

We have obtained all the information and explanations we have required in the course of our examination in detail of the foregoing Profit and Loss Account and Balance Sheet.

We have verified the Investments. Their market value as on 30th June, 1937, is in excess of the amount at which they stand in the Balance Sheet. We have also verified the Cash and Bullion in hand at the Head Office.

The Balance Sheet is, in our opinion, properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Company's affairs according to the best of our information and the explanations given to us, and as shown by the Books of the Company and the Certified Returns from the several Branches.

KEAN & COMPANY, Chartered Accountants,
Auditors.

DUBLIN, 12th July, 1937.

MARTIN F. MAHONY,
PATRICK J. BRADY,
CHARLES H. O'CONOR,
} *Directors.*

HENRY J. CAMPBELL, *General Manager*

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